Washington's Plans for Labor BY ADAM LAPIN

NEW MASSES

FIFTEEN CENTS APRIL 1, 1941

IMPERIALISM ON WINGS

The battle for South America's airways. Missing links in a sinister chain of Wall Street intrigue
by Julian Webb

REMEMBER THEM BY RUTH McKENNEY

HITLERIZING AMERICA'S SCHOOLS AN EDITORIAL

JIM CROW IN KHAKI BY JAMES MORISON

Isidor Schneider reviews Edgar Snow's new book on China

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In Next Week's New Masses

What's Happening in the Steel and Coal Empires?

The whole country is agog with the headlines from these industrial regions. Ed Falkowski, New Masses correspondent, begins a series in next week's issue giving you the full story. He has been there for several weeks studying conditions at firsthand. His reports will be must reading.

ALONG about noon of press day, this week and last, we sat back for a moment with thanksgiving and a prayer in our minds—thanks because *this* issue will come out, and a prayer that we will make it next time too. That's what lack of funds means to NM, and that's why we have fund drives to cover NM's $25,000 deficit once a year. Contributions just pulled us through this week—less than $1,000 came in during the past seven days, giving us a total of $4,658.73. The danger to NM's existence in such a situation impelled Theodore Dreiser to write to friends on his personal stationery the letter which we print on the opposite page. To his sober, urgent appeal the editors of NM add their plea: the magazine must have the *immediate* support of its readers if it is to survive for another week. And it's usually a large number of small amounts, rather than a few big donations, that turn the trick for us. During the past week we got a $5 check from a reader with a letter explaining that he had been reading NM for ten years and this was the first time he had been able to contribute more than a dollar or two. "I always hoped to send at least $5—and here it is!" he concludes. We wish everyone could realize an ambition like this, but our greatest need right now is for any contribution possible. If you were "waiting to save up ten"—or five—please send now whatever you already have on hand.

Once the problem of keeping the presses rolling is solved, we will be able to give you a fine batch of articles already on our desk or in the writing. Outstanding among those which we plan to publish soon is a thoroughgoing analysis of the British Cabinet—who these gentlemen are, what is their "way of life," and why the word democracy sounds so grotesque on their stiff upper lips. The piece is by G. S. Jackson, whose discussion of big-money control in the Third Reich ("Germany's Real Rulers," February 11 issue) brought a great deal of enthusiastic comment and has been reprinted in a number of periodicals.

In between reading manuscripts and performing other chores that befall a magazine staff, we manage to limber up on a picketline. Every Saturday at 1:00 is picket hour for NM, in front of the Jewish *Day* where a Newspaper Guild strike against firings and wage-cutting has been on for six weeks. (Nathaniel Buchwald discusses the background of the strike on page 11 of this issue.) We've known a lot of picketlines and this one down on New York's lower east side is one of the finest. Last Saturday there were pickets from among the neighborhood people as well as the Guild, clutching their hats in the high March wind and shouting into it their slogans in English and Yiddish. The watchful cops that stand by have no trouble, but they're not getting any rest either. Neither, we imagine, is the *Day* management, which has it dinned into the ears at all hours by the marching men and women that *"Der 'Tog' ist finster"*—"The *Day* is dark."

We'll be marching soon with tens of thousands of others, on the workers' big day—May 1. The Provisional May Day Committee is in full swing, and has issued calls to trade unions and other organizations for a United May Day Conference on Saturday, March 29, at 1:00 o'clock—at Webster Hall, 119 East 11th St. Officers of the Committee include Ferdinand Smith of the NMU, Louis Weinstock of the Painters, Arthur Osman of the United Wholesale and Warehouse Workers, Local 65, and Max Perlow of Local 76B of the Furniture Workers Union. Rockwell Kent will be May Day's honorary chairman.

Some of the best art in America—which means Gropper, Raphael, Isaac, and Moses Soyer, Anton Refrigier, Reginald Marsh, Art Young, Philip Evergood, Joe Jones, Maurice Becker, H. Glintenkamp, Burliuk, Minna Harkavy, Warsanger, Cikovsky, among others—will be obtainable at reasonable prices this coming Sunday, March 30, when NM holds its second annual art auction. It will take place at the ACA Galleries, 52 West 8th Street, NYC., at 3:30. Prominent artists and writers will act as auctioneers, and in addition to the art work a number of original, signed manuscripts will be sold—including articles by Earl Browder, Richard Wright, William Gallacher, and Theodore Dreiser, and the original script of Marc Blitzstein's *No for an Answer*. Proceeds of the sale will go to NM's fund drive.

And don't forget our next "Interpretation, Please," on Friday, April 4. The subject is "Next Month's Headlines" and the experts are: William Blake, Philip J. Jaffe, Alan Max, A. B. Magil, and Joseph Starobin. There will be a slight variation in the routine this time, the program opening with a round table by the experts on an international issue, after which there will be the usual informal answering of questions.

Who's Who

JULIAN WEBB is a free lance writer and research worker in the field of national affairs. . . . Adam Lapin is NM's Washington correspondent. . . . Nathaniel Buchwald is on the staff of the *Morning Freiheit*. . . . James Morison is a labor journalist. . . . Paul G. McManus is a political and economic writer who was once NM's Washington correspondent. Isidor Schneider was formerly literary editor of NM, and is the author of *From the Kingdom of Necessity*. . . . Corliss Lamont is the author of several books, the latest of which is *You Might Like Socialism*. . . . Theodore Draper was formerly foreign correspondent for this magazine.

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THEODORE DREISER

Dear Friend,

For a long time I have been bothered about the state of the nation's press. It is bothering a lot of people nowadays and has been for some time. The way things are going I don't think the press is going to get any better. In fact, it's a lot worse now than it's ever been.

That's why I am sending you this letter. There are some publications in the country that tell the truth. One of them, the most important magazine in the country in my opinion, is the New Masses. I am sure you know enough about it so that I don't have to go into detail. I think it's putting up a damn good fight to keep America from sending another couple of million boys to be slaughtered off in a war that isn't ours. It's been consistently good on an issue you and I are vitally concerned with - the question of civil rights for the average man. It's carried the banner for honesty in writing for some thirty years. For all these reasons I know it can't get advertising, the chief source of income for all publications. It leads a ragged life, always teetering on the edge of the financial abyss but never falling because of its friends - the most honest people in America.

For that reason I am sending you this letter urging you to help them in their drive for $25,000. People like yourself are giving for many good causes, but I think that all causes would suffer if a publication like the New Masses goes out of existence. You and I can't afford to see that happen.

Sincerely,

Theodore Dreiser

Theodore Dreiser

(Please turn to page 24)

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NEW MASSES

VOLUME XXXIX APRIL 1, 1941 NUMBER 2

Imperialism on Wings

Wall Street's solo flight down the hemisphere. How Pan American Airways spread over a continent. The missing links in a chain of intrigue.

BURIED in the record of the House hearings on the Post Office Appropriation Bill for 1938 are a few candid sentences that deserve to be exhumed:

> May I picture for you what is happening at the present time in the Latin-American field? There is a tremendous fight going on . . . between the large trading nations of the world. . . . Pan American is still out in front. We must keep them there. Our trade depends on such a policy.

The witness who spoke these words was Col. Edgar S. Gorrell, former Chief of Staff of the AEF air service, Wilson's adviser on air matters at Versailles, and more recently spokesman for American air imperialism. Colonel Gorrell's job, as head of the Air Transport Association, has been to convince Congress that it is necessary to keep draining the public purse into the treasury of Pan American Airways Corp.

Thanks to the efforts of Colonel Gorrell and the behind-the-scenes work of a sizable Washington lobby, Pan American has enjoyed an increasing monopoly of air transport in the Atlantic, the Pacific, and particularly in South America. Some $86,000,000 in government subsidies have reached Pan American, and the flow of funds is now estimated to be cascading at the rate of $1,000,000 a month. Pan American has obtained so great a stranglehold in the air over South America that a Post Office filing clerk told a congressional investigating committee as early as 1934 that he was unable to distinguish in his filing between "Pan American Airways" and "Pan American trade." As Colonel Gorrell put it, "The airplane has proved our most potent method of business promotion and business penetration in overseas fields."

PAN AMERICAN Airways Corp. was organized in 1928 as a holding company to operate international air services. Almost immediately it became the favorite god-child of both Hoover and Roosevelt. The Black Senate investigation of airmail contracts showed that the State Department and the Post Office Department vied with each other to heap rewards and favors upon Pan American. The company "received every United States air mail contract for Latin America" according to Elsbeth E. Freudenthal's *Aviation Business.* Another writer, Oliver J. Lissitzyn, in his study entitled *The Diplomacy of Air Transport,* emphasized that often "the State Department has exerted its influence to smooth Pan American's way."

The Black investigation turned up such letters as the one addressed by an air line executive to Hoover's Postmaster General Walter F. Brown, asking him to "make a definite statement making it clear as to just how the Post Office Department is supporting Pan American in their attempt to dictate domestic aviation policies in Cuba." The letter continued:

> . . . I have heard from time to time that the Ambassador's influence was being used to back up the Pan American maneuvers.

The ambassador referred to in this undated letter (printed only in part on page 2054 of the hearings) was presumably Harry F. Guggenheim of the family which has long held whole countries in South America in peonage. It is interesting to note that Mr. Guggenheim's activities in promoting commercial aviation led President Roosevelt to retain his services as one of the few civilian members of the National Advisory Committee for Aeronautics, among whose functions has been the task of conducting "confidential researches for the Army and the Navy." It is also interesting to note in connection with this scrap of letter from the Senate hearings that, according to *Moody's Manual of Investments,* "In March, 1932 [probably about the date of the letter], Pan American acquired ownership of the Compania Nacional Cubana de Aviacion, S.A., the national air transport service of Cuba."

Personal relationships such as that indicated in this letter have seemingly played an important part in transforming Pan American from a ninety-mile air line into "the outstanding international system in the world—operating 62,000 miles of routes in sixty countries." In tracing the story of air imperialism it is helpful to turn to the list of Pan American's present and past directors. Near the top of that list one finds the name of Lyman Delano, relative of President Roosevelt, who has known his way around Washington for many years. Another on the list is W. A. Harriman, banker and railroad official, of the firm of Brown Brothers, Harriman & Co. Harriman in the past has often been called Roosevelt's ambassador to Wall Street; he has now expanded the scope of his services to become Roosevelt's commercial ambassador to England. Harriman's banking partner, Robert A. Lovett, has recently been named Assistant to the Secretary of War.

Since 1931, Cornelius Vanderbilt Whitney has been chairman of Pan American's board. The product of two of the country's most firmly rooted imperialist families, Whitney's great wealth, amounting to some $80,000,000 at the time of his inheritance, is usually aligned with that of the Morgans. Recently it has become known (see, for example, the New York *Daily News* of Feb. 28, 1941) that Whitney has supplied financial backing for Beryllium Corp. This corporation, now prospering in war orders for a metal essential in airplane manufacture, was shown by the Temporary National Economic Committee to be working hand-in-glove with the metal and munitions trusts of England and Germany.

AS PAN AMERICAN grew in strength and its tentacles reached out to grasp ever-larger sections of South American trade and diplomacy, it attracted other powerful forces to its directorate. In 1928, the air line became associated with the Grace interests which for years had been battling the British for domination of South American shipping. F. B. Rentschler (brother of Gordon S. Rentschler, chairman of the board of the National City Bank, known in Latin America as the proprietors of Haiti) became a director in 1929. Rentschler was joined by Col. Edward A. Deeds in 1930. Deeds, too, was active in affairs of the National City Bank, of which he was a director; he is better known, however, as the central figure in the notorious aviation procurement scandals of World War I. Following that war Chief Justice Hughes investigated Deeds' "inexcusable," "reprehensible" conduct relating to government transactions with predecessors of General Motors and found: ". . . The evidence with respect to Col. Edward A. Deeds should be presented to the Secretary of War to the end that Colonel Deeds may be tried by court martial. . . ."

Two of the Mellon family have been associated with Pan American—David K. E. Bruce (Mellon son-in-law) and Richard Mellon; the Mellon family's proprietary interest in South America is illustrated by their firm control of Colombia oil fields. Charles A. Lindbergh, son-in-law of a Morgan partner, was named technical adviser in 1930. The fact that Dwight Morrow's daughter was married to the flyer probably didn't hurt Pan American's interests in Mexico where Morrow was Coolidge's ambassador; Pan American owns the entire capital stock of Cia. Mexicana de Aviacion.

But Pan American has still stronger ties than these which bind it to the Morgans and

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to the Roosevelt "Defense" Commission. Juan Trippe is president of Pan American. His father-in-law was the late Edward R. Stettinius, Sr., the Morgan partner who became Assistant Secretary of War and Defense Commission chief while Franklin D. Roosevelt, as Assistant Secretary of the Navy, was directing the military occupation of Haiti during the first World War. Mr. Trippe's wife is the sister of Edward R. Stettinius, Jr., one of the high command of Roosevelt's 1941 war preparations program. Furthermore, one of the two Whitneys on Pan American's directorate is the same John Hay Whitney who is now actively at work for Washington "promoting commercial and cultural relations with Latin America" under Nelson Rockefeller.

THE FULL LENGTH STORY of air imperialism in South America remains to be told and may never be fully told until some congressional investigating committee traces relationships and digs up a few of the missing links in what appears to be a vast tangle of intrigue and favoritism by government officials to enrich the well-connected. What new triumphs will follow the accession of Pan American's directors and directors' relatives to high posts in the "Defense" Commission also remain to be told.

If this tale is ever put on the record, perhaps one particular chapter will open with certain events that began last June. It was in that month that Cornelius Vanderbilt Whitney called New York reporters to a little-noticed press conference at which he declared, via the *Wall Street Journal,* that the United States must "strike hard" at Nazis in Latin America. Almost immediately things began to happen. High officials of the Roosevelt administration took up the shout of "Drive the fifth columnists out of the Americas!" The New York *Times,* always ready to serve its advertisers, began to flood its columns with long, hysterical dispatches from South American correspondents to the effect that there were subverters behind every palm leaf, and Nazi agents in every Latin-American town that possessed an airfield. Lurid word pictures were drawn which placed German pilots circling over vulnerable spots in America's outlying defenses.

The Nazis are, of course, active in various Latin-American countries, but they have a long way to go to catch up with the agents of American imperialism. At least part of the reason for this hue and cry about fifth columns below the Rio Grande was indicated by Devon Francis, aviation editor of the Associated Press (*Jersey Journal,* Jan. 24, 1941). "Today," Francis wrote, "the moral, diplomatic, and financial backing of the United States government is being thrown behind the aviation interests fighting for a better foothold in South America." He added: "The ousting of well-entrenched German airline interests in Colombia last summer resulted from a combined diplomatic and business squeeze-play. Nobody was taken by surprise except the Germans, who were in no position to protest."

The "squeeze-play," one should note, was made possible by alarmist tales about certain German pilots who were said to be flying within striking distance of the Canal. The

The Priorities Committee Unveils a Painting of the Last Aluminum Pot. Michaels

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thinness of the vein of truth behind these yarns was well known to Wall Street at the time, though not to the public at large. Wall Street and the "Defense" Commission—staffed with friends and relatives of Pan American directors—knew that the Sociedad Colombo-Alemana de Transportes Aeros (commonly known as Scadta), ostensibly the chief Nazi air menace in South America, was actually under the domination of Pan American. Scadta flights near the Canal were flights for Pan American's profit; German pilots were indirectly on the payrolls of Pan American.

Scadta was founded immediately after the last war by a group of German army officers with one Peter Paul von Bauer, apparently representing Berlin's Deutsche Lufthansa, as the active head. In 1931 Pan American acquired what is described as "a considerable block of stock" in the enterprise. Probably no one outside Pan American circles can tell whether this stock interest constituted actual control of Pan American's supposed rival; it is more clear, however, that from 1931 to 1939 Pan American and the Deutsche Lufthansa group apportioned operations and air transport development in tried and true imperialist fashion. It was during this period that Sindicat Condor, also under the leadership of von Bauer and financed by Lufthansa and Hamburg bankers, grew strong as a formidable business rival of Pan American and of Scadta. Considerable light on these happenings may be obtained from the writings of Walter Peck, in charge of foreign research for the Civil Aeronautics Administration of the government.

Pan American left the Scadta stock which it acquired with von Bauer to be placed under his name in a voting trust for the benefit of Pan American. Whatever the purpose of this arrangement may have been, it at least served to obscure the true ownership of Scadta. The year 1939 saw, after the outbreak of the European war, the beginning of one of Pan American's deft shuffle plays through which Scadta was to be merged with a Colombian airline called Saco. A new air transport corporation, known in abbreviated fashion as Avianca, was to appear on the scene to take over Scadta. The new company was to be completely under Pan American's control. The stage was thus set for the "squeeze-play." It was at about this point that Whitney's press interview took place. Stories appeared in the Washington press that "Scadta's German pilots (no one mentioned that they were, in effect, working for Pan American) had made better photographic studies of the defenses of the Panama Canal than were available to the US." The New York offices of the press associations ordered rush, on-the-spot stories of the Nazi menace from bewildered South American correspondents. The President and several cabinet members made hair-raising invasion speeches, and in the midst of the excitement the Scadta-Saco merger was accomplished. Pan American had skillfully liquidated its German partners. Avianca now had no further use for its inherited staff of German managers, technicians, and pilots, and many of them were promptly dismissed.

The avalanche of propaganda which appeared so suddenly at Pan American's moment of need provided the impetus to carry forward other expansionist ideas of the air imperialists. Pan American quickly moved into Guatemala and set up Aerovias de Guatemala under its wing. In Ecuador the chief air line has been an enterprise popularly called Sedta, operated by Lufthansa. Panagra, an air line jointly established by Pan American and the Grace Lines, had been fighting an unsuccessful battle for Ecuador's slim air business. Late in 1940, however, with the aid of dollar diplomacy, the Ecuadorean government was pressed into granting concessions to Panagra which, according to the editor of *Pan American News,* will have the effect of "a gradual squeeze play . . . pushing Sedta to the wall."

PAN AMERICAN'S fight for mastery of the South American air is now largely narrowed down to conflict with Sindicat Condor, the most strongly entrenched of Lufthansa's air transport companies. From all accounts, the cost of this fight for absolute air monopoly will have to be borne by the American tax payer. Pan American has never been able to compete successfully for passenger business with the Lufthansa-Condor system, whose passenger rates have been kept well below those of the American line. If the transports of Sindicat Condor are to be driven from the air, it will have to be done largely through lowered mail and freight rates. Present rate slashes in this economic war mean that the United States government is, through subsidies, paying the cost of carrying every letter and package.

With the advent of 1941 and the conclusion of the principal events in the "squeeze play," the German aviation menace propaganda stopped almost as suddenly as it had begun. When the air had cleared a bit, the New York *Times* (perhaps more guilty of hysterical invasion talk than any other New York paper) was forced to admit that the German aviation scare was "somewhat exaggerated." There was even, as time went on, a certain amount of grumbling in Washington about the activities of Pan American. In the task of winning air contracts and influencing public opinion, Pan American had received excellent cooperation from the United States Army and Navy. During the period when successful attempts were being made to clear the South American air of all non-Pan American pilots, the New York *Herald Tribune* reported on July 22, 1940:

> . . . Army and Navy aircraft units have made many formation flights from Florida to strategic points in the Caribbean area and Latin America, as far south as Buenos Aires, on veiled demonstrations of their ability to give speedy protection to American interests.

The navy had offered its own "veiled demonstration" of help by its dispatch to Sindicat Condor territory of two of the fleet's newest heavy cruisers, the *Wichita* and the *Quincy*.

What happened in the meanwhile to alienate the War, Navy, and State Departments is not yet public knowledge. But it may be noted that the grumbling against Pan American came to a head in the last few months at about the time when Pan American, by another deft maneuver, defeated a proposal in the House of Representatives to grant the newly-formed American Export Air Lines a mail subsidy of $1,500,000. Those behind this new air transport company have powerful friends in the Army, Navy, and among persons close to President Roosevelt; and (to quote Jean La Baron, one of the company's lawyers), "American Export Air Lines has the sympathy and backing of the United States Department of State. . . ."

To some extent the air imperialists have seemingly fallen out among themselves. Their quarrel has reached the point where Thurman Arnold, scenting headlines, and always ready to smash a labor union or fight one band of imperialists for the benefit of another, has entered the fray with talk of indictments against Pan American. Washington is betting that Arnold will eventually be muzzled, as he always is when he steps on Wall Street's toes. However, the situation has now prompted State Department officials to make admissions off the record which help to show up the hollow cynicism behind the talk of "national defense" in whose name the air imperialists have been drawing checks on the federal treasury. Says Ray Tucker in his syndicated Washington column *(Brooklyn Eagle,* February 28):

> [Pan American] had exclusive run of the White House lot, on the ground that it was an arm of national defense. It also has maintained an active air lobby at the Capitol. . . . [Now] State Departmenters assert—privately— . . . that Pan-Am has not performed any national defense services commensurate with the financial and monopolistic favors it has enjoyed. . . . Pan-Am's South American facilities would be of small help to the Army Air Service in a sudden crisis in that sector, according to Government officials.

Thus, if Tucker's information is correct, passes the myth so industriously built up over the last decade.

In an interview last August, Cornelius Vanderbilt Whitney, Pan American's chairman, told the New York *Post's* financial columnist that his love for South America was based on practical as well as sentimental considerations: "There are so many opportunities down there," he said, "so much to develop in a business way, that the field is virtually unlimited." It is to conquer this unlimited field for Pan American and other Wall Street corporations that the Roosevelt administration, supported by many of its isolationist critics, is promoting "hemisphere defense." Latin America is part of the world empire which American big business dreams of winning for itself in the second imperialist war with the dollars and blood of our people. But perhaps the people, both in the United States and in the Latin-American nations, will have something to say about it.

JULIAN WEBB.

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Strictly Personal

by RUTH McKENNEY

Remember Them!

I CAN remember, from deep, deep in my childhood, from out of the ageless, motionless wells of long-ago memory, a sorrow. My Grandfather Flynn speaks to the kids sprawled around his knees, my little cousin Nora, and Paddy, and Maggie with the black hair. Grandfather's voice rises and falls in the beautiful cadence of the old country, a manner of speaking I can no longer repeat with my tongue, or write down on paper, but a language I shall hear forever echoing against my heart.

Grandfather says, "And then they pressed him away to jail, him! Him that loved all the green world."

We kids sit hushed and almost numb. Grandfather speaks on: "And there they shut him away, the black walls around him, and no one to care for the ache in his heart, and the wife that he longed for left alone, and the children all alone, and him! Him! That loved the very smell of life, the green earth just turning soft in the spring—him! They shut him away."

We bow our heads in the hush. Then Maggie with the black hair says timidly, "But why did they shut him away?"

Then Grandfather stands up, tall and terrible, and he says, very strongly, "Because he was a man! He lived like a true man! He fought for us all! He fought for freedom!"

We kids tremble at grandfather's great anger. But then the tears come suddenly in his eyes and he says softly, "Ah, but the ache in my heart when I think on him! That fine, great man! Him, who had the glory in him, like a king, he was. Shut away, shut away, with them black, black walls around him."

And now we feel the answering sorrow. Maggie lets the hot tears run down her cheek, and grandfather pulls gently at her hair, and Nora leans against his knee. Grandfather says, "Ah, the sorrows they have put on us."

Then he stops, and he says in a hard and different voice, "But this is no way to speak. Think! Think! He stands in jail for you all. James Connolly was no man to want your tears. He wants your anger. It's them murdering—" and I can hear him saying it, "mur-r-r-r-er-r-rding lords, them rich and fancy-free lordies! Yes! Get up your anger, and leave those tears. Remember them!"

And here the scene stops. I cannot say why it stops here. I have only, out of the long-forgotten years, this clear and perfect vision of Grandfather Flynn, dead so long now, speaking to his grandchildren, with the thunder in his voice and his head thrown back, so that he looked a young man. I can only hear the words, "R-r-r-remember them!"

Remember them! The Monday afternoon I heard the news about Earl Browder I wandered around our house, lost and feeling sick. I didn't want to talk to anybody, but I was afraid to get out my records and have music. Sometimes music can cut deep in the heart, too deep. Then slowly, gradually, with the gathering winter darkness, I began to find my grandfather. I worked on that first splinter of memory, built up the picture, piece by piece, until it came entire. But it seemed strange, without reason. I had it all, at last, the kids, and the words, and the sound of the great thundering voice. Then, as I looked at it again, and heard the echoes in my inner ear, I saw it plain. I knew why I had called it up, deep out of the forgotten years.

For only once before in my life have I felt such a sorrow, and such a flame of anger, side by side, fused by a deep passion. Remember them! Them murdering lords! Them rich and fancy-free lordies. Ah, but the sorrows they have put on us!

Yes, remember them! They sit proud and haughty now, in their seats of gold, but we shall remember them. They in all their glory own the very world, ah they think it so. They ride off to their banks in the morning, neat and clean and busy-minded. They stand over the stock exchanges, smiling their wicked smiles, they fill the very air with their bawdy, insufferable lies. They own the empty sounds the sly fellows make in Washington, and one of theirs, one of their blessed, sits laughing and bowing in the White House.

Yes, remember them! The cop with his nightstick works for those lords, beating the bloody brains from the poor devils he finds homeless and hungry in the alleys. The scab moves silently through the night, busy with their dark business, those lords. And all through this broad country, the working man watches the misery creep over him and his, and those lords, they own the misery, too.

Well, remember them! They looked around this suffering land, and they found Earl Browder. Ah, he is a man! A true man! Yes, the proud son of the working class, the man with the ancient glory in him. So they fastened on him with their lies, their nasty little palaverings—there is not a man among them so blind he believes in the dark tricks of the mighty. They made a fine mockery of their justice, those lords, they took the trouble to prove we speak right when we say class justice!

And now! Now they press him away to jail! Him! Him that loves all the green world. They shut him away, with the black walls around him, leaving his dear wife and his children alone. Ah, the ache in our hearts when we think of him. The sorrows they have put on us!

But we shall remember. Remember him, and remember them, those lords in their golden seats, those judges with the black robes, the gentleman in the White House with the cruel words pouring out of his smiling, smiling mouth. They laugh at our tears today, they mock after us.

Yes, they mock after us. But not forever. For our anger is terrible and strong, and we remember, but not with our tears. They have gold and they have their powerful lies, but we are more. We are many. We are the people, and we believe in freedom and peace and bread. They have locked him away, him who worked in poverty and modesty his whole life long to make freedom come soon. They have left his children fatherless and his wife without comfort. And the sorrow lies deep in our hearts, side by side with the bright fire of our anger.

Remember them? Yes! We shall remember, with our brains and our hearts and our blood. Earl Browder! Can you hear us now? We are just saying, while those lords, those fancy-free lordies clang the gates and lead you to those black walls, we are just saying, loud and clear for the whole world and even every child in it to hear, we are saying:

WE SHALL REMEMBER.

Courtesy of Bonestell Gallery

BEN ZION'S *"Glory of War II"*

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Washington's Plans for Labor

Blueprints for the destruction of trade unions. Following the London and Berlin models of repression. The "work or fight" dictum. A report by Adam Lapin.

Washington.

LAST November NEW MASSES revealed that three Department of Justice attorneys, in a *Harvard Law Review* article, had drawn up a detailed plan for wartime control of labor. The essence of their plan was that forced labor in a war period is as essential in a democracy as it is in a dictatorship. They took the position that the Selective Service Act gave the President power to issue "Work or Fight Orders," and they ridiculed constitutional objections to a draft of labor as "quixotic."

It should now be apparent even to liberals that the article was not an abstract discussion but a blueprint for the immediate future. With the Rooseveltian step-by-step technique that has characterized American involvement in the war, the administration is now moving to straitjacket labor. In one respect the three lawyers certainly hit the nail on the head. The difference between the coercive regulation of labor in "democracies" and "dictatorships" in this war is at most one of degree. There are striking similarities in the pattern of labor control in England and Nazi Germany—and in the labor policies that the White House is now beginning to follow.

EARLY IN THE WAR Great Britain passed the Control of Employment Act giving the Minister of Labor power to prohibit employers from hiring or rehiring workers in certain specified categories, or from advertising for such workers without permission of the Minister. Of course, the effect of this act was to abolish freedom of movement for British workers. They had to work in the factories to which they were assigned and could not leave for new jobs. Then there has been a whole series of anti-labor Defense Regulations under the Emergency Powers Act. Secretaries of State were given power to set up "protected places" from which unauthorized visitors, including trade-union officials, were barred. In certain trades workers could not be employed except on license.

British anti-sabotage regulations, similar to some of the federal and state laws passed in this country, provided fourteen years' penal servitude and a fine of £500 for any person impairing the efficiency or preventing the movement of machinery, aircraft, vessels, and vehicles. No exemption from these penalties was granted to strikers. An arbitration agency curtailed the right to strike. Although the Emergency Powers Act was not supposed to provide for a draft of workers, Labor Minister Ernest Bevin announced that conscription of labor would actually be put into effect. With or without their consent, workers can be moved by the government from job to job and place to place. At the same time Bevin formed a "permanent mobile labor force" for special jobs like loading and unloading ships.

Americans are more familiar with the rigid control of labor in Germany. According to a recent study of economic control in foreign countries, made by the Temporary National Economic Committee, a decree issued by the Nazis in September 1939 forbade all German workers to leave their jobs without the consent of the local labor office, and lifted all restrictions on hours of work for men. Recent steps in Great Britain to control the labor supply are apparently modeled after the German law of 1935, making it impossible for any worker to be hired without an employment book listing his entire record. An earlier law of 1934 had established closed zones against migrants. Employers are forbidden to advertise for certain categories of labor.

Experiences in Great Britain and Germany make it obvious that controlling the movement of workers from job to job is the first step toward forced labor, toward labor conscription. This step is already being taken in the United States. Sidney Hillman has launched a campaign to register all unemployed and skilled workers who can be put to work in war industries. The official Defense Commission publication, *Defense,* said that one of the main objectives of this plan is "to prevent needless migration of workers from one place to another."

Government wage-fixing, so that workers will not be tempted to leave "defense" jobs for more lucrative employment elsewhere, is equally important for the control of labor supply in a war economy. Col. Philip B. Fleming, Wage and Hour administrator, has revealed that his agency is making an exhaustive study of this problem. "The whole problem of chaotic turnover during the world war is commanding serious attention," he stated in his annual report to Congress. "At that time wages were completely unstabilized and workers wandered from plan to plant seeking the best wages obtainable." Fleming said that if the United States entered another war it would be necessary to give "serious thought to the need for standardizing wages." Under the auspices of Sidney Hillman three regional conferences are being held in the shipbuilding industry with the express purpose of freezing wages. The objective of this trend is, of course, to fix wages at present levels, to prevent the economic pressure of the labor movement from forcing wages upward in order to keep pace with rising prices and profits. The new Defense Mediation Board has a similar purpose, and was timed particularly to offset the bargaining power of the United Mine Workers and the Steel Workers Organizing Committee in demanding wage increases.

EXTENSION of these government controls over labor can be expected as Washington's participation in the war advances. Soon after his return from his vacation cruise, the President is expected to issue an executive order proclaiming a full national emergency. The effect of such a proclamation would be to give him wartime powers. The assumption of ever-expanding war powers by the President makes the new Mediation Board an even greater menace to organized labor than might at first appear. Quite apart from the coercive effect of public reports issued by the board condemning strikes, the President says in his executive order that it shall be the "duty" of workers to prevent strikes and to notify the OPM and the Labor Department's Conciliation Service in advance of a walkout. At present this is just a declaration of policy. But it would not be difficult for the President to implement it—particularly in the event of a full "national emergency." In any event, William Knudsen and other OPM officials have made it pretty plain that if labor continues to exercise its right to strike, the administration will swing its support behind some kind of compulsory arbitration setup without any "voluntary" frills attached.

When the British Control of Employment measures were passed, soon after the start of the war, William Green pointed ou ecstatically that the Minister of Labor wou have to refer orders under this sweeping la to an advisory committee of employers a trade-union representatives. "The essence of democratic government is consent," Green pontificated. He made it plain well in advance that the reactionary AFL hierarchy would accept any wartime restrictions on the rights of labor as long as the administration took the trouble to get their "consent." Subsequently the AFL leaders and the pro-Hillman group in the CIO have embraced the doctrine of "sacrifice" for labor and have welcomed the creation of the new Mediation Board.

While CIO President Philip Murray has supported the demands of the steel workers, coal miners, and the New York bus operators for wage increases, and has publicly opposed the creation of a war labor board, he agreed under strong administration pressure to appoint two CIO representatives to the Mediation personnel. With the sword of government coercion hanging over them, the trade unions will be asked to "voluntarily" surrender position after position. The clash over which course labor is to take will be intensified. It will be hard to straddle. Whether or not labor is to submit to government control under a war dictatorship is becoming the real dividing line between the Green-Hillman forces and the progressive trade unions.

ADAM LAPIN.

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Outlaws in Congress

Hitler and Churchill will turn green with envy at the program of bills before the House Judiciary Committee. Whip-cracker Holtzoff. An item on the President's calendar.

Washington.

THE House Judiciary Committee meets on Tuesdays and Thursdays in a high-ceilinged room in the old House Office Building. Its members sit in deep, red leather chairs on a horseshoe-shaped platform. Chairman Hatton Sumners of Texas glowers from the center at the double chins of his colleagues. Multiple chins are the rule in this well fed, key committee of the House. Historians may some day hang an ingenious theory on the fact that many members have two chins, Sam Hobbs of poll-tax Alabama has two and one-half, while Louis Graham of Pennsylvania has three.

But whether you rely on the chins or some other mnemonic jolt to help fix the scene in mind, it is worth doing so, for the Judiciary Committee now has before it about a score of the most vicious bills ever proposed in a single session of Congress. Through the Committee is funneled the anti-labor spleen of profiteering war contractors, machine politicians, southern peonage lords, and power-crazed government policemen. Consider the program of bills to which the House Judiciary Committee is currently preparing to give its assent.

THERE ARE two bills on the docket to permit J. Edgar Hoover's labor spies to listen in on telephone conversations and seize telegrams (HR 2266, 3039). There is the Downs proposal to require universal fingerprinting (HR 3157), and the Rich bill to fingerprint all workers in war industries (HR 1427). Representative Cox (Ga. poll-tax) is winning converts to his scheme for outlawing the union shop in companies dealing with the government (HR 2694). Representatives Hoffman and Smith (Va. poll-tax) have far-reaching anti-strike bills (HR 1407, 2695), while the latter is again trying to ban union organization in war plants (HR 1403). Representative Ford wants to chase the foreign-born out of unions (HR 1842). Representative Rich seeks to purge aliens from owning, publishing, or editing newspapers or magazines (HR 1426). Representative Hobbs (in collaboration with the Department of Justice) revived his concentration camp bill for non-citizens. Representative Shafer is urging the Judiciary Committee to bring pressure to bar minorities from the ballot, and also seeks to create a new crime, "treachery" (HR 1625). Representative Moser modestly wants to fine, imprison, and deport anybody advocating any change in the government (HR 114). A majority of the Committee also stand together in an effort to block all labor-sponsored legislation. For example, reactionary members are in a position to scrap the anti-lynching bill, the anti-poll tax bill, the repeal of the Alien Registration Act, and several measures to end employer discrimination and prevent intimidation by Hoover's Gestapo.

Cracking the whip behind Committee scenes is a short, pompous, wax-complexioned individual named Alexander Holtzoff, officially an assistant to the Attorney General. For seventeen years Holtzoff has wormed his way upward in the Department of Justice, until now he is numbered among reaction's ringmasters. As legal adviser to J. Edgar Hoover, as lobbyist for Robert Jackson, and as one of the men in charge of the investigation and selection of candidates for appointment to the courts and prosecuting departments, he has great actual and potential power. Since the Judiciary Committee has broad jurisdiction over bills affecting law enforcement and creating new offenses, it is Holtzoff's principal center of activity.

Holtzoff is credited with inspiring Hoover's lawless midnight raids in Milwaukee and Detroit, with devising the methods used to get Earl Browder and William Wiener, and with supervising the current Department of Justice drive against Harry Bridges. Holtzoff's hand can be seen in the Hobbs concentration camp bill, and the bills to legalize Hoover's wire tapping. Some of the worst features of the D of J's "model" sabotage bills now being pushed through the state legislatures are said to have come from his pen.

As a lobbyist Holtzoff is smooth and resourceful. He flatters, cajoles, frightens, and intimidates. Congressmen get the flattery while opponents get the intimidation. Members of House Judiciary Committee are all lawyers, and many are ex-judges. It is no secret that sometimes congressmen are not re-elected. In such a case, it is very useful to have kept in good standing with the Department of Justice which helps dole out appointments to unemployed politicians. Friends of Hoover and Holtzoff get puffs in the Hearst press and full-page pictures in the Macfadden magazines.

Ties that link Holtzoff, Sam Hobbs (whose constituents die young from typhoid, malaria, pellagra, under-nourishment, bad sanitation, and bad housing) and Chairman Sumners are especially strong. As Hobbs' collaborator, Holtzoff must share responsibility for the repressive bills which bear the former's name. To plan strategy, Hobbs and Holtzoff are often closeted together with Chairman Hatton Sumners before or after Committee meetings. Holtzoff is in a position to aid demagoguery by passing on anti-labor tid-bits from Hoover's secret files, or by contributing skill in the drawing up of trick clauses. Sumners named Hobbs chairman in charge of the subcommittee which arranged for the labor-smearing testimony of Thurman Arnold, William C. Bullitt, and Westbrook Pegler. Significantly, a week before Hobbs came forth with his latest scheme to draft labor under the conscription act, a copy of the November issue of the *Harvard Law Review* was left in the House Judiciary Committee room. It was stamped "Property of Hatton W. Sumners." The pages that contained the Department of Justice blueprints for labor conscription (written by proteges of Holtzoff and exposed last November by NEW MASSES) were dog-eared from constant reference and were heavily underscored. Washington newsmen, sniffing the outpouring of anti-labor legislation to its source, are keeping a careful eye on the Judiciary Committee and Messrs. Holtzoff, Hobbs, and Sumners.

WORTH WATCHING also is an item on the President's calendar, said to be marked for prompt attention when he returns from his southern cruise. The item is a carefully drawn program for the mobilization of women, children, and men over draft age into a semi-official organization to be called the National Home Defense Council. Some of the details of the regimentation plan were revealed by Mrs. Roosevelt nine or ten weeks ago at a White House conference attended by wives of Cabinet members, Supreme Court Justices, congressional leaders, and others, although it is known that the Roosevelts had worked out the outlines of the plan as early as last June. The plan has been carefully kept under cover until the lend-lease bill was passed, and until England's mobilization of non-combatants was introduced. Now that Churchill's Labor Minister Ernest Bevin has conscripted old men, women, and children, nothing except the pressure of public opinion stands in the way of initiating what may be Roosevelt's last pre-war measure.

The National Home Defense Council plan has, at present, a heavy sugar-coating of "community welfare." However, a tip-off of the real purposes behind the plan may be found in the proposal to enlist women and children in an immense spy hunt to root out peace sentiment. The desire for peace, as every White House and Capitol Hill mail delivery shows, is overwhelmingly strong. The plan seeks to overcome opposition to the war drive by organizing millions into so-called "defense patrols," which will function under government supervsion. Newsmen have been able to learn that these patrols will be taught how to reach "every household in America" in a hurry "with whatever messages and interpretations it is desirable for every household to have at given times as part of the country's total defense program." Hitler and Churchill will turn green with envy.

PAUL G. MCMANUS.

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Dark Is "The Day"

The strike on the Yiddish daily reflects an upheaval in Jewish life. Where the policy of anti-progressivism leads. A strange cabal takes over.

As a labor-management dispute, the strike of the Newspaper Guild of New York against the Yiddish daily, *Der Tog (The Day),* is of a familiar pattern: the management tried to put through a drastic pay cut; a few of the staff writers, anticipating the cut, joined the Newspaper Guild, whereupon the management fired five "troublemakers" and imposed wage reductions ranging from ten to fifty-five percent on seven others. In addition, one member of the commercial staff, protected by a guild contract, was dismissed. Failing to persuade the management to restore the pay cuts and reinstate the discharged workers, the guild called a strike. As far as the guild is concerned, there is only one issue involved in the dispute: the rescinding of the wage cuts and the discharges, and the cessation of all reprisals for union activity.

Following the familiar pattern, the management dragged out a red herring, denouncing the strikers as "Moscow agents" and representing the strike as a "Communist conspiracy to capture or destroy the Yiddish press."

So far it is all cliche. But when we see one of the great celebrities of Yiddish literature in the United States, Leon Kobrin, carrying a picket sign and appealing to the public to help him win back his job; when the famous Jewish savant and philosopher, Dr. Chaim Zhitlovsky, a contributor to the *Day,* sides with the strikers; and on the other hand, we see two equally famous writers, the messianic H. Levick and the sanctimonious Joseph Opatoshu (both of whom at one time professed left-wing sympathies), not only crossing the picketline but joining in the hue and cry against their colleagues, it becomes evident that the *Day* affair is something more than a labor-management dispute. Indeed, the alignment of forces on the strike-breaking side of the picketline reveals a motley collection of Social-Democratic trade union bureaucrats, literary renegades, Trotskyites, Revisionists (the fascist wing of Zionism), and provocateurs peddling their filth at so much per—whooping it up for the scabs and inciting against the CIO.

But even this aggregation of anti-social elements does not reveal the true nature of the strike. After all, the scab side of the picketline is always the typical habitat of these people, be it a strike against a newspaper, a steel mill, or chandelier factory. The fact of the matter is that *the strike was deliberately precipitated* by the controlling group of the *Day* as part of its policy of turning that newspaper into a war-mongering organ. The present editor of the *Day,* S. Margoshes, stated bluntly that "we welcome a strike," meaning a showdown between the traditional policy of "liberalism," which was formerly the stock-in-trade of the paper, and the sharp turn toward unalloyed reaction.

Forty members of the editorial and commercial departments are on strike. Since the walkout began on February 14, the circulation of the *Day* has dropped sharply and advertising has reached a new low. In support of the strikers have gathered a large number of trade unions, including the Greater New York Industrial Union Council of the CIO, and many other progressive organizations. The leadership of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers and the International Ladies Garment Workers, on the other hand, has won new dishonor by fervently defending the management and the scabs, though this by no means expresses the sentiment of their rank and file. The action of Frank Rosenbloom, acting president of the Amalgamated and a CIO vice-president, in supporting the *Day* management has been disavowed by CIO President Philip Murray in a statement endorsing the strike.

Sculpture by Sylvia Wald

"Fountain of Youth"

TO UNDERSTAND FULLY the moral decay that has set in among the petty-bourgeois wing of the Jewish intelligentsia, it is necessary to sketch the history of the *Day* and the role it played among the Jewish public. Founded twenty-six years ago, the *Day* was conceived as a medium for enhancing the social standing of the rising stratum of the *all-rightniks,* the *nouveau riche* from among the East European Jewish immigrants. There was considerable friction between them and the *Yahudim,* or German Jews, who constituted an earlier stratum of Jewish immigrants. Together with their established influence in certain fields of economic activity, the German Jews had assumed undisputed control over Jewish affairs in the United States and were recognized in official circles as the sole spokesmen of American Jewry. The founder and principal financial backer of the *Day* was an East European Jew, a manufacturer by the name of David Shapiro, who "made good," accumulated a fortune, but was snubbed by the *Yahudim.* Typifying an ever-increasing group of such *all-rightniks,* the late Mr. Shapiro tried both to secure a due measure of recognition for the Eastern Jewish upper middle class, as against the *Yahudim,* and to repair the unenviable reputation of the Jewish sweat-shoppers among the mass of the Jewish immigrants. The *Day* was to solve both problems for the David Shapiros of a quarter of a century ago, and it succeeded in a larger measure than even its founder had expected.

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A shrewd as well as ambitious businessman, Mr. Shapiro realized from the start that there was only one source that could provide a mass audience for his newspaper: the Jewish workers and small businessmen who were disgusted with the opportunist policies of the *Forward*. This "Socialist" daily was then and is today edited by Abraham Cahan, an unscrupulous autocrat who has put a blight upon everything that was alive and progressive and decent in the field of trade unionism, literature, culture, and social life among the Jewish masses.

Revolted by this gutter journalism of the Hearst school, the Jewish intelligentsia had the alternative of submitting to the Great Dictator or accepting the consequences of his displeasure. Under the circumstances, the *Day* came as a veritable savior. The canny Mr. Shapiro, guided by professional journalists and public men who shrewdly appraised the situation, boldly appealed to all the anti-*Forward* elements as the base for the new Yiddish daily. It worked. The *Day* became all things to all men. Every current of social thought was ably represented by staff writers and contributors. All manner of literary expression was encouraged and welcomed. And differing political viewpoints were accorded an "impartial" hospitality in the pages of the *Day*.

Mr. Shapiro and his stratum of *all-rightniks* came into their own. No longer was the sweat-shopper a despised, anti-social figure. The manufacturer, the exploiter of Jewish labor became equal with other social forces —an "ism" among "isms," a viewpoint among viewpoints. And at a time when the labor movement was an ascendant force among the Jewish masses, the David Shapiros could hope for nothing better than *parity* with the labor movement, with socialism.

IN TIME the initial impulse that prompted the founding of the *Day* became hopelessly enmeshed in the purely promotional considerations of the management. "Liberalism" and "impartiality" became articles of merchandise. After 1922, when the *Freiheit,* militant working class daily, appeared on the scene, the *Day* posed as the oracle of impartiality and righteousness as between the "two extremes," the *Forward* and the *Freiheit*. From the *Forward* it borrowed some of the tricks of yellow journalism and at the same time it began to flirt with the left wing elements, giving coverage to events in this section of the labor movement and ever emphasizing the fact that it was "unbiased" as between the right and the left. To lend color to its policy of "impartiality," Mr. Shapiro's paper thrust to the forefront on the one hand the clever liberal columnist, B. Z. Goldberg, who was made managing editor and entrusted with the mission of cultivating the progressive, pro-Soviet readers; and on the other hand—a Dr. Margoshes who, as nominal editor-in-chief, catered to the Zionists, looked after the interests of the *all-rightnik* bourgeoisie, supervised electioneering activities on behalf of Tammany candidates, and represented the inarticulate Mr. Shapiro as an after-dinner speaker on appropriate occasions.

This policy of "looking at both sides of the question" served to hold together the heterogeneous reading public of the *Day,* the working class reader with a petty-bourgeois outlook, the intellectuals who preferred sitting on the fence in regard to crucial questions, the employers who liked their anti-unionism garnished with "liberal" phraseology, and the Zionists who appreciated the easy access of the *Day* to the laboring masses among whom Zionism did not strike root.

In a strike, the *Day* always came through for the employers. Invariably it supported Tammany candidates; invariably it served as an outlet for the Trotskyites, Lovestoneites, and other anti-working class politicos.

The "impartiality" of the paper paid good dividends, and Mr. Shapiro was careful not to offend his customers. He held out against the more aggressive Red-baiters on the editorial staff who would have had the *Day* compete with the *Forward* in the matter of vilifying progressives in the labor movement and slandering the Soviet Union. As between the mediocre and reactionary Margoshes and the adroit, adaptable Goldberg, he preferred the latter, The hoodlum elements, like the Revisionist spokesman, M. Danzis, the vigilante-minded cartoonist, Foshko, the Trotskyite nonentity Glantz, sought vainly to gain the upper hand. Whatever his own sympathies, Mr. Shapiro was a practical businessman and did not want to antagonize his progressive readers.

The war brought about a marked change in the policy of the *Day*. As the interventionists gained ground in American politics, it became "good business" for the *Day* to join the war camp. The Soviet-German non-aggression pact served as a convenient excuse for misrepresenting the peace policy of the Soviet Union. The ascendance of reaction in Washington, the scrapping of the New Deal program, the enthronement of intolerance and Red-baiting as the official policy of the Roosevelt administration tended to strengthen the position of Margoshes and his friends on the *Day*. B. Z. Goldberg no longer filled the bill.

And then David Shapiro died. His heirs were not at all concerned with the policies of that portion of the estate which was the *Day*. Left to its own resources, the paper quickly fell under the control of the Margoshes-Glantz-Danzis cabal. Goldberg was no longer needed as a "come-on" to attract left-wing readers. Other writers with a mildly progressive slant, such as A. Zeldin, I. Fleishman, S. Erdberg, Leon Kobrin, M. Unger, and Sarah B. Smith became a hindrance in the promulgation of the new one-hundred-percent anti-progressive policy. Somehow or other they had to be got rid of.

THE DISASTROUS EFFECT that the new policy had upon the circulation and advertising of the *Day* only served to enrage those who now controlled its affairs. They decided to clean out all those writers who served as a reminder of the former position of "tolerance" and "impartiality." A policy of "economy" and retrenchment became the order. What better excuse could the management find for getting rid of Goldberg and the other non-conformists?

But the situation was awkward, nevertheless. Firing writers was not exactly in the tradition. Imposing pay cuts was not an issue that would appeal to public opinion. An "ideological" and "moral" basis was needed. With the solemnity of a hokum Sanhedrin, a group of writers of the *Day,* including Joseph Opatoshu and S. Niger, brought in a verdict that B. Z. Goldberg was guilty of high crimes and misdemeanors. It seems that several years ago, at the instructions of Mr. Shapiro and in his capacity as managing editor, Goldberg had bought a series of articles written under a pen name by a Communist, Shachno Epstein, which presented a factual, sober picture of Soviet reality.

One might ask what all this has to do with the price of eggs. But for those who had gained control of the *Day,* the "findings" of the committee provided a basis for the *previously arranged pay cuts and firings*. B. Z. Goldberg, regarded as the leader of the group who would not accept reductions in wages, was offered the alternative of either resigning from the Newspaper Guild together with the other dissidents, or being branded a "Moscow agent." He decided to hold fast. He and several of the others were summarily fired.

NOW THE STRIKE is on. The grotesque charge of the management that the strikers are guilty of "dual unionism" is calculated to deceive only the gullible. For the J. L. Perez Verein, a club of Jewish writers, is no more a trade union than is the PEN club. The Verein has become a rubber stamp in the hands of the executives of the reactionary Yiddish newspapers. Affiliated neither with the AFL nor the CIO, it slavishly approves every move of the employees and eagerly volunteers for the role of strike-breaker-in-chief.

The strike on the *Day* has produced something like an upheaval among the Jewish public. When on the first day of the struggle there appeared on the picketline the eighty-year-old widow of Sholom Aleichem, one of the titans of Yiddish literature, it was evident that this was no ordinary strike. Readers who have sworn by the *Day* for years have turned away in thousands. Within the Yiddish literary and cultural world there have been widespread repercussions. The fact that the strikers include a man like B. Z. Goldberg, the most typical representative of the former "impartiality" and "liberalism" of the *Day,* and the scabs a man like H. Levick, once a contributor to the left-wing *Freiheit;* expresses the disintegration of the petty-bourgeois foundation of Jewish life in the United States. In the strict trade union sense the strike against the *Day* is a labor dispute. In a larger sense it is a public protest of the Jewish masses against the ugliest manifestations of war-mongering, reaction, and hooliganism.

NATHANIEL BUCHWALD.

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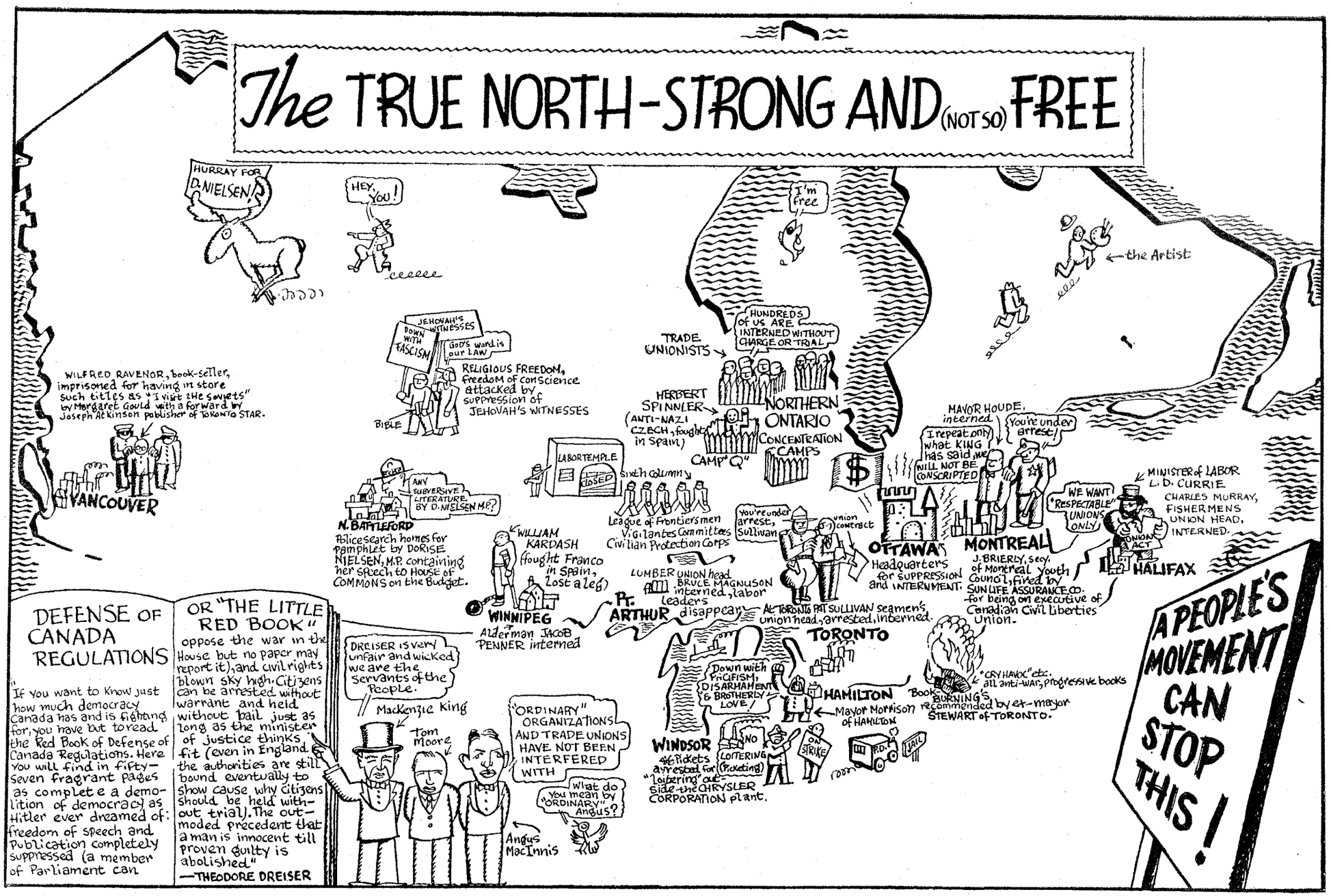
The TRUE NORTH-STRONG AND (NOT SO) FREE
HURRAY FOR D. NIELSEN!
HEY, YOU!
eeeeee
I'm free
the Artist
JEHOVAH'S WITNESSES
DOWN WITH FASCISM
GOD'S word is our LAW
RELIGIOUS FREEDOM, freedom of conscience attacked by suppression of JEHOVAH'S WITNESSES
BIBLE
WILFRED RAVENOR, book-seller, imprisoned for having in store such titles as "I visit the Soviets" by Margaret Gould with a forward by Joseph Atkinson publisher of TORONTO STAR.
VANCOUVER
TRADE UNIONISTS
HUNDREDS of US ARE INTERNED WITHOUT CHARGE OR TRIAL
HERBERT SPINNLER (ANTI-NAZI CZECH, fought in Spain)
CAMP "Q"
NORTHERN ONTARIO CONCENTRATION CAMPS
MAYOR HOUDE, interned
I repeat only what KING has said WE WILL NOT BE CONSCRIPTED
You're under arrest!
MINISTER of LABOR L. D. CURRIE
CHARLES MURRAY, FISHERMENS UNION HEAD, INTERNED.
WE WANT "RESPECTABLE" UNIONS ONLY
LABOR TEMPLE
CLOSED
ANY SUBVERSIVE LITERATURE BY D. NIELSEN M.P.?
N. BATTLEFORD
Police search homes for pamphlet by DORISE NIELSEN, M.P. containing her speech to HOUSE of COMMONS on the Budget.
Sixth Column
League of Frontiersmen
V.I.G. Antes Committees
Civilian Protection Corps
You're under arrest, Sullivan
union contract
OTTAWA
Headquarters for SUPPRESSION and INTERNMENT
MONTREAL
J. BRIERLY, secy. of Montreal Youth Council, fired by SUN LIFE ASSURANCE CO. for being on executive of Canadian Civil Liberties Union.
HALIFAX
UNION ACT
WILLIAM KARDASH (fought Franco in Spain, lost a leg)
LUMBER UNION head BRUCE MAGNUSON interned, labor leaders disappear
WINNIPEG
Alderman JACOB PENNER interned
Pt. ARTHUR
AT TORONTO PAT SULLIVAN seamen's union head, arrested, interned.
TORONTO
"CRY HAVOC" etc. all anti-WAR, progressive books
Book BURNING'S recommended by ex-mayor STEWART of TORONTO.
A PEOPLE'S MOVEMENT CAN STOP THIS!
DEFENSE OF CANADA REGULATIONS
"If you want to know just how much democracy Canada has and is fighting for, you have but to read the Red Book of Defense of Canada Regulations. Here you will find in fifty-seven fragrant pages as complete a demolition of democracy as Hitler ever dreamed of: freedom of speech and publication completely suppressed (a member of Parliament can
OR "THE LITTLE RED BOOK"
oppose the war in the House but no paper may report it), and civil rights blown sky high. Citizens can be arrested without warrant and held without bail just as long as the minister of justice thinks fit (even in England the authorities are still bound eventually to show cause why citizens should be held without trial). The out-moded precedent that a man is innocent till proven guilty is abolished."
—THEODORE DREISER
DREISER is very unfair and wicked we are the servants of the People.
Mackenzie King
Tom Moore
"ORDINARY" ORGANIZATIONS AND TRADE UNIONS HAVE NOT BEEN INTERFERED WITH
What do you mean by "ORDINARY"? Angus?
Angus MacInnis
Down with FASCISM, DISARMAMENT & BROTHERLY LOVE!
HAMILTON
Mayor Morrison of HAMILTON
WINDSOR
46 Pickets arrested for "loitering" outside the CHRYSLER CORPORATION plant.
NO LOITERING (Picketing)
STRIKE
P.D.
JAIL

Here's what the map of Canada looks like in the minds of many Canadians. It's taken from the Canadian New Advance, *a youth publication, and readers who look closely will get the story of what has happened to civil liberties and trade union rights in a British dominion. The three little figures in the lower foreground are Mackenzie King, the prime minister; Tom Moore, who corresponds to William Green in this country; and Angus MacInnis, a leader of the Cooperative Commonwealth Federation, which is the Canadian version of the British Labor Party. Out in Saskatchewan, notice the references to Mrs. Dorise Nielsen, MP for North Battleford. She is the only woman deputy in the House of Commons, a former London school teacher, mother of three children, and married to a dirt farmer. She's been leading the fight for a People's Movement in Canada, and although a member of Parliament, the Royal Canadian Mounted Police have been harassing her, confiscating reprints of her speeches in the House. Note the number of internments of trade union leaders, and proven anti-fascist fighters. Observe also, the dollar sign waving from the Parliament building at Ottawa. That's how Canadians feel about Mackenzie King's "cooperation" with FDR.*

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Jim Crow in Khaki

The brass-hat brand of racism. Segregation and discrimination as official government policy. What happened to thirteen Negro messmen in the US Navy.

WHEN I arrived in Camp Johnston, near Jacksonville, in November 1917 as an enlisted man, the Negro draftees were still clearing woods, hauling garbage, laying roadbeds, and acting as "dog robbers" or personal servants to officers. The first night of my army life was spent in a simple floorless tent perched on the sand, my face covered with mosquito netting as protection against the malaria-carrying insects. It was as riotous as one's first hours in the army are likely to be. Broad humor, restlessness, curses, clowning, a medley of youthful sounds continued until taps. The noise subsided, but few slept. I was lying awake when the crackle of shots startled me. I sat up in my cot. A gruff voice barked: "The Huns are attacking." The other three occupants of the tent variously muttered or cried: "Shut up!" "Lemme sleep!" "What the——time is it?"

In the morning I asked the acting corporal what the shooting meant.

"Aw, they potted a coupla 'dinges,'" he said.

"What for?"

"Seems they're always walking home. Guess they don't know what the war's all about. . . ."

Not many of the white southern boys in Camp Johnston knew what the war was all about. To Negro soldiers the war meant hard labor, confinement to the military reservation, menial service, and an intensification of the deep prejudice of the white man toward him. Negro soldiers occasionally rebelled, especially when conditions became humanly unbearable. Short shrift was made of such outbreaks; military law meted out long sentences. Overseas, except for a few combat regiments, Negro soldiers worked as stevedores on the docks of Brest and Bordeaux, or were sent to the front to dig trenches, or to clear ground for advances.

WHEN THE SELECTIVE SERVICE LAW went into effect last September, memories of 1917 revived. These memories served as a leavening influence in Negro thought. But the intervening twenty-four years have wrought many other changes. Increased urbanization and industrialization of Negro labor with a consequent increase in literacy, the building of a strong and influential Negro press, and better educational opportunities have created a basic body of millions of intelligent Negroes who are keenly conscious of their wrongs. Organizations such as the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the National Negro Congress, and the Urban League are active in defense of Negro civil and economic rights. Many Negro churchmen are progressive in thought and action, and use their pulpits to inform their congregations of the bitter struggle for complete emancipation.

The prospect of another conscript army and another war was alarming to millions of Negroes. What policy would be followed by the administration in this new effort in behalf of Wall Street? A committee of Negro leaders visited the White House on September 27. To them the President reaffirmed the ancient policy of discrimination against Negroes in the armed forces of the nation. They protested, asking for an equal opportunity for Negro youth in the army and navy. On October 9 a White House secretary issued a statement which announced a plan for the organization of Jim Crow army units.

With Negro opinion keyed to a high pitch by the Jim Crow army policy officially promulgated by the President, the unfortunate case of thirteen Negro navy messmen of the *USS Philadelphia* came to plague the administration. Five Negro messmen complained that they had been degraded into personal service for prejudiced officers who overworked them, cursed at them, punished them for the slightest word of protest. The five were cast into the brig, and when eight others met to protest, they too were arrested. A bitter letter from the enlisted men to the Pittsburgh *Courier* exposed this situation to the Negro masses. But the Navy Department was deaf to protests. The thirteen messmen were thrown out of the service, the only concession being the omission of the word "dishonorably" from their discharge papers, which, however, do not contain the word "honorably."

As a result of this case every Negro in the country knows what his government thinks of him as a potential sailor. Nevertheless, the navy is not ashamed of this undemocratic policy. The San Francisco *Chronicle* carried an advertisement in December in which "willing" Negro boys were asked to enlist as mess attendants in the Naval Reserve at $21 a month. This grade has been opened to Negroes because it is a special rating without possibility of promotion. Thus Negro enlisted men in the navy cannot rise to petty officer, and are barred from engineering, gunnery, radio, electrical, aviation, and other trades, knowledge of which they might acquire in service. Their pay is at a lower scale than white enlisted men, who receive $36 a month for the first three months and $54 monthly thereafter.

The United States Navy Manual defines the duties of a messman as follows: "The efficiency of an officer's work is increased materially if he has clean, wholesome food served in clean dishes and a well-kept room with a clean, comfortable bed to sleep in. The work of the mess attendant becomes an important factor in promoting the morale of any wardroom. For this reason it is essential that the mess attendant do his work well, that he serve promptly and cheerfully, and that he keep the compartments and the room assigned to him tidy and neat at all times. Careless work cannot be tolerated." His duties are defined as "1. Care and cleaning of officers' clothes. 2. Care and cleaning of rooms and compartments. 3. Operating laundry or the delivery and collection of clothes for the laundry. 4. Serving at table in officers' mess. 5. Helping the steward in preparation of certain foods. 6. Standing watch in the pantry. 7. Manning battle stations."

OBVIOUSLY these regulations provide mainly for body service. Negro messmen work from twelve to sixteen hours daily. They are at the mercy of bigoted officers. They have no recourse, as the *USS Philadelphia* case proves, if they complain. They may be imprisoned at the whim of the officer and discharged without any regard to democratic procedure.

Negroes have been opposed to this servitude and discrimination, but thus far unsuccessfully. In the case of Negro physicians of the American Medical Association an open hearing was granted. Secretary of the Navy Knox and Rear Admiral Chester W. Nimitz, Chief of the Bureau of Navigation, met in January with a small committee of the AMA. The report of this conference is illuminating. Admiral Nimitz tossed a bouquet to Negroes by stating that if they were granted equality in the navy they would be so superior that they would have to be promoted to petty officers "and white sailors would not stand for this." He remarked that he knew of a messman who was so expert that he was made an unofficial chief gunner's mate—at no advance in pay. His work was so efficient, said the admiral, that he was actually placed in charge of Filipino seamen.

Dr. William McKinley Thomas of Leavenworth, Kan., informed Knox and Nimitz that he did not believe white seamen would object to working with or even under Negroes. He said that in his Kansas country practice seventy-five percent of his patients were white, and they did not object to his color. "I'd like to see a referendum," he said, "to determine the attitude of white sailors on this subject of working with Negro sailors or under Negro petty officers." Admiral Nimitz replied that this would be the Soviet and not the American way. Dr. Thomas said that he didn't know about that, but that a referendum would be the most democratic way.

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Admiral Ninitz would not be moved. Under no circumstances, he said, would such a vote be taken, because it is contrary to navy custom. He then admitted that he thought white sailors would serve beside Negro sailors but not under Negro petty officers. And, of course, the Negroes wouldn't be sailors without a chance of promotion—and there you are. . . .

Another doctor at the conference, Dr. W. G. Alexander, asked: "When will America put into practice the principles of democracy she is prepared to defend?" Admiral Ninitz and his chief, Secretary Knox, did not reply.

WHAT ABOUT the army? The Selective Service Act provides that "there shall be no discrimination against any person because of race or color." But the War Department and the army hierarchy have found ways of circumventing this plain statement of law. Thus Brig. Gen. Lewis E. Hershey, selective service administrator, has erected his own barrier against Negro equality by officially stating that "No man may come into the army who is not acceptable to the army."

War today is no longer in the trenches, but is waged by machines on the land and in the skies. Negroes are barred from equal participation in the modest advantages of learning how to operate these machines by a system of Jim Crowing them into segregated units suited mainly to shock combat duty or to labor battalion service. Even this program represents a gain to some Negro soldiers, especially those who have been in regular army units in peacetime. Thus at Fort Riley, Kan., the Ninth Cavalry spent the years between 1931 and 1941 in what the boys call "chambermaid work," shining shoes, cleaning officers' rooms, and doing other menial personal service. Hours for Negro soldiers were longer than for whites; they were required to be up first in the morning in order to prepare clothing and breakfast for their masters, and were also the last to retire at night.

Early in the induction period, the majority of Negroes who doffed mufti for khaki were volunteers. They were transferred to army camps where in their first enthusiasm they expected equal treatment. But they found segregation. At Ft. Dix, N. J., Negro soldiers walked out of the movies when they were told to sit in a Jim Crow section. Negro soldiers at Metuchen, N. J., protested when they were given labor duty, as had their parents in 1917. The segregated receiving station at Ft. Dix displeased others. At Ft. Meade, Md., Negroes were forbidden to buy beer at the camp canteen. Protests mounted as parents and relatives heard of discrimination. The word was spread throughout America that 324 Negro reserve officers had been passed over for promotion, losing $8,795,000 in annual pay. No Negro doctors, nurses, dentists, pharmacists were wanted. Robert Hill, vice-president of a Pennsylvania state dental and pharmaceutical organization, was rejected when he volunteered for duty at the pharmacist's rating of $1,800 a year. As white boys were called up for service, Negroes discovered that they were not wanted yet because Jim Crow cantonments had not been built. That is why no Negroes were drafted at all during December and January. Word was spread that the army believed Negroes could not be "trusted to operate and maintain anti-aircraft, machine guns, heavy artillery, planes, tanks, etc." Negro officers and non-coms were rounded up and transferred to white camps in which Negro volunteers were temporarily housed. The dissident Negroes in New Jersey, most of whom were from Harlem, were transferred under Negro command to Ft. Huachuca, in Arizona—a long, long way from home and friends.

Among Negro youth a sore point has been the question of eligibility for the air corps. Negroes found they could not gain admission to civilian aeronautical schools. The Civil Aeronautics Dept. designated the Chicago School of Aeronautics at Glenview, Ill., as a segregated school for Negro applicants, but no equipment was ever loaned Glenview by the War Department for that purpose. No Negro air units have been established; there are no Negro pilots.

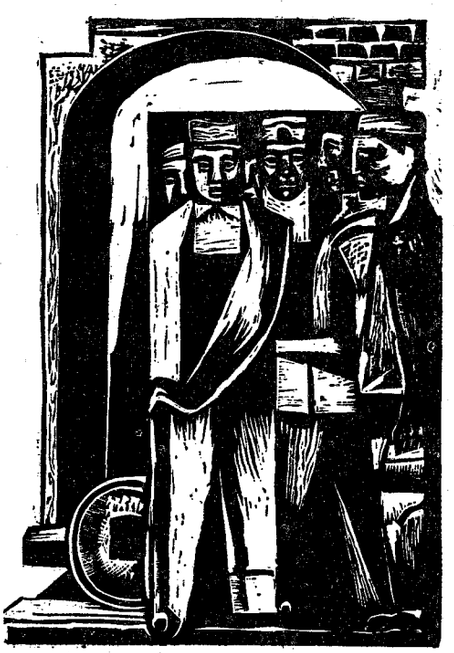
EXTREME PRESSURE brought about a minor concession. President Roosevelt authorized in January the expenditure of $11,000,000 nationally for technical education. Little if any of this sum will go to schools to which Negroes are admitted. A civil elementary flying school is finally being established at Tuskegee, Ala., for the supposed formation of a pursuit squadron. Its capacity is to be sixty students, who will, of course, be Jim Crowed. There is a white aviation center in Alabama but the West Point of the air is still, as in 1917, Kelly Field, Tex. Cornelius B. Coffey, president of the National Aeronautics Association, has protested the Tuskegee allocation, stating that it is a subterfuge by the War Department. In the first place, Tuskegee is not a public but a private institution. Negro students will therefore be obliged to finance themselves during their training course, whereas white aviation students in similar schools receive subsistence and $75 monthly. Secondly, Tuskegee students are really kidding themselves in thinking they will be admitted to the army as pilots. For the War Department has ruled that the army will not commission air cadets unless they take a final course at Kelly Field, from which Negroes are barred by Jim Crow.

Protests against this and similar fascist practices in the army have mounted since January. The American Youth Congress confronted Secretary of War Stimson with the facts in this situation. He condescended to appear on the steps of the gray old building which houses the War Department. There he stated flatly that "the Negro soldier likes segregation," a brazen distortion of the truth. He boasted that he had appointed the first Negro general in the history of the army and that he had also appointed a Negro civilian aide to the Secretary of War. What he did not explain was that Col. Benjamin O. Davis and his son, First Lt. Benjamin O. Davis, Jr., are the *only* Negro officers in the regular army. Nor did he mention the fact that General Davis, now sixty-three years old, is eligible for retirement soon, so that the army may not long be troubled by his presence among generals on active duty.

The treatment of the Negro in the armed forces underscores the character of the democracy the American people are being asked to defend. This is the "freedom" which President Roosevelt seeks to establish everywhere in the world. Perhaps the American brand of racism is superior to the Hitler brand, but millions of Negro victims don't appreciate that fact. Negro leaders who support the Roosevelt war policy—men like Walter White, A. Philip Randolph, and Frank A. Crosswaith (the last two, Socialists)—are thereby sacrificing the basic struggle for Negro rights. However vehement their protests against Jim Crowism, they have become the apologists for a system of war and fascism which will intensify the conditions that breed discrimination and servitude.

The Negro people are seeking a different kind of leadership. They are turning increasingly to the National Negro Congress which holds fast against war hysteria. Through the trade unions, especially those of the CIO, they are participating in the economic battles of the American workers. And in no section of the population does the Communist Party, with its program of full economic, social, and political equality, find a warmer response. Out of its new understanding black America gathers new strength. It is facing the devil and crying to the Lord: "Let my people go!"

JAMES MORISON.



A print from the Foster Folio by Chicago Artists.

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HITLERIZING AM

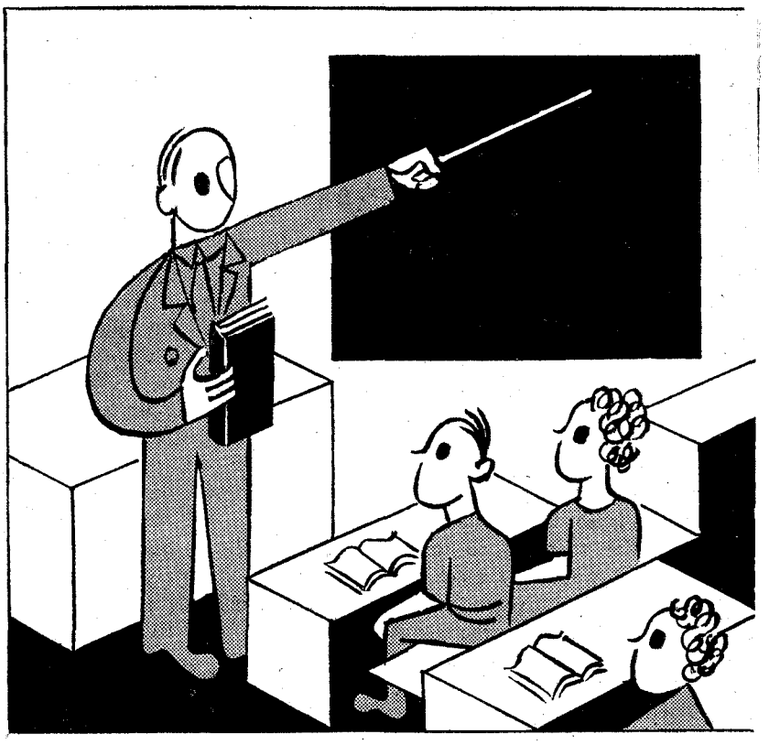
WHEN President Butler of Columbia University openly attacked academic freedom last October and demanded that faculty and students accept his attitude toward the war in Europe or get out, it was apparent that he had committed an indiscretion from the reactionary point of view. For the strategy of Roosevelt and Willkie at that time, just a month before the elections, was to drug the American people with the pleasant illusion of peace. Dr. Butler was too impatient. He was too frank. He had poorly timed his simultaneous declaration of hostilities against German imperialism and American democracy. "When war comes," editorialized the New York *Herald Tribune,* there will be time enough to silence "outspoken faculty members."

"When war comes. . . ." The surest sign that we have been thrust into war is the noisy unanimity with which the press, the administration, the courts, the legislatures, and big business are persecuting the champions of education and educational freedom. The elections are over; the war-powers bill is law; and all pretenses are being dropped. Dr. Butler's "blunder" of last October is now unabashed policy. The enemies of education are out for blood. The lynching bee is on. The concealed passions and hatreds are let loose in a savage orgy of slander, bullying, lying, and jailing.

Can any one be so naive as to suppose that the activities of the Rapp-Coudert committee in New York are merely another in a series of relatively sporadic attacks on education? Of course, we have had repression in our schools before. Of course, New York had its McNaboe and Ives and Lusk before it had Rapp-Coudert. But the present smearkrieg against education is not only more extensive, concerted, and blatant than any preceding attacks; it is qualitatively different. For the central fact to be faced is that this inquisition takes place in the context of war and developing fascism. The drive of reaction against the educational system is an all-out drive. In the past the victim has always been able to recover from his wounds. Now the effort is being made to decapitate him completely. It is an attempt to crush not only present resistance but the condition—democracy—which would make future resistance possible. It is the most naked expression of American fascism.

Despite the hypocrisy of legal technicalities and democratic phrasemongering, it is impossible to mistake the parallel to the Nazi drive against culture. The Nazis were out to get the "Marxist-Jew" teachers; and Coughlin's *Social Justice* gleefully brags that its program against "Communist-Jew" teachers is being carried out by the Rapp-Coudert inquisition. The essence of Nazi demagogy was to link liberals and radicals with their opposites, the international financiers; and the central strategy of our domestic fascists is to link Communism with its opposite, Nazism. The Nazis cracked down on the schools as "breeding places" for dissidents; and the same criticism is made here by those who pretend to espouse "our way of life." The Nazis yanked teachers out of the classrooms, tried them on irresponsible charges made by people with personal grudges, threw them into concentration camps; and Rapp-Coudert, with the assistance of District Attorney Thomas Dewey, cries for firings out of hand, twenty-year sentences. The Nazis set up political qualifications for teachers, rather than qualifications based on pedagogical competence and devotion to scholarship; and the same practice is being followed here with imitative slavishness.

The arrest of Morris U. Schappes, tutor in English at the



City College of New York, is the most flagrant symptom of the tactics used by those who are bent on ruining American freedom. He has been treated as a criminal, thrown into the Tombs, released on extravagant bail, indicted on charges adding up to twenty years' imprisonment. What was his alleged crime? Was he a bad teacher seeking to corrupt the minds and morals of students? On the contrary, the students whom he has taught over a period of thirteen years are agreed that he was one of the most stimulating, sympathetic, informed, and fair-minded teachers in his college. Not one person has dared question the integrity of his classroom record. Was he a teacher who lost interest in education, preferring to slide along smugly in his job? On the contrary, his activities as a writer and a scholar, whose work has appeared in several literary and scholarly publications, prove his alertness to the problems of his profession. Nobody has dared impeach that record. Was he, then, a teacher who plotted against the interests of his educational institution? On the contrary, he has worked energetically and courageously for educational expansion, for tenure, for increased research facilities, for administrative democratization.

No, the significance of his persecution is that Schappes is being labeled a "criminal" because of those very qualities which have made him an outstanding educator.

Schappes is accused of "perjury." The charge is pressed in a sensational comeback by Thomas Dewey, who disappeared from the front page after Harold Ickes' crack about Dewey's tossing his diaper into the ring. On what does the charge of perjury rest? Because Schappes refused to endorse the wild accusations of an obviously rehearsed witness like William Canning of City College, he is a perjurer. Canning smears the institution, cooks up a list of fifty alleged Communists, indulges in fantasies regarding teachers trained by Moscow to paste stickers on subway cars. Canning, therefore, is an honorable man,

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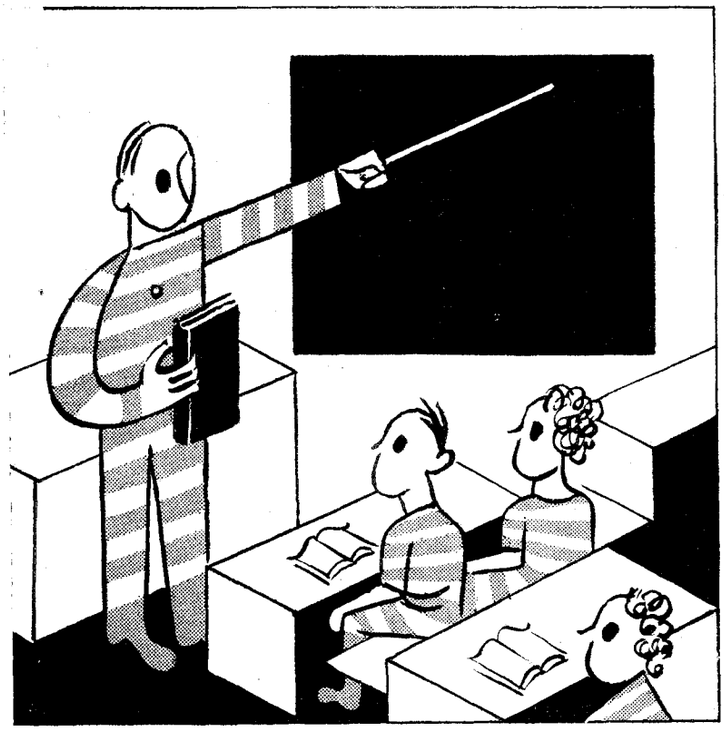
ICA'S SCHOOLS



in line for a promotion and a gold star. Schappes sticks to the facts, refuses to succumb to press hysteria and intimidation, refuses to paint his colleagues with an indiscriminate red brush, refuses to compromise his devotion to democracy in education. He is therefore a subversive criminal. What an outrageous mockery! What a stupid and contemptible perversion of common decency!

The educational authorities of New York City have hastened to pass decrees requiring the expulsion of teachers who belong to "Nazi or Communist groups." As for the Nazis, one need merely point out that the word is always thrown in as a sop, but not a thing is ever done about it. In all the furor about the war on fascism that we are supposed to be fighting, it is significant that not a single effort has been made to smoke out fascist-minded teachers. As for the "Communist groups," is it not clear that this phrase as currently used would include every genuinely anti-war and pro-labor organization in the country? The Board of Higher Education has indicated how broad is the swath of intolerance it is cutting by placing under the ban any teacher who advocates or belongs to a group that advocates "subversive doctrines or activities"—a term vague enough to cover even the mildest liberal opinion. Is this not a striking invitation to a large-scale heresy hunt that would involve every progressive teacher? The attacks on "Communist groups," as every experience here and abroad demonstrates, are but a prelude and a disguise. Political heresy hunting has an inescapable logic. Nobody will find comfort in fine distinctions. They will be ignored, unless the hunt itself is stopped.

The steady implication of the Red charge is that a teacher who is a member of the Communist Party, unlike a teacher who belongs to other political parties, is committed to the obstruction of the educational process. Nobody has proved this. Nobody can prove it. For it is simply not true. As long ago as January, 1935, Earl Browder answered the misrepresentation of the Communist Party's attitude toward the schools. In an article written for *The Social Frontier,* he stated that the school is not the place where fundamental political questions will be answered and it certainly is not the place where the basic issues of the class struggle will be resolved. The Communist Party, he explained, asks educators to join in the fight against cultural reaction, but so far as its fundamental revolutionary outlook is concerned, "the Communist Party has its own educational work, its own educational institutions, to conduct this specific task of indoctrination, and does not look toward any other body to do it." During the period when Schappes was a member of the Communist Party, as he explained in a statement to the press, at no time did he attempt in the classroom to impose his political point of view. He encouraged, as any good teacher must, free discussion, independence of mind, and adherence to objectively verifiable facts. And no student, no faculty member, no administrator has challenged the integrity of this statement.

The establishment of a political test for teachers directly violates the spirit of American traditions. The classroom teacher has no right to impose his political beliefs, be they Republican, Democrat, or Communist, on students. But as a citizen, assuming responsibility in the affairs of the community, he has every right to his own convictions and the constitutionally valid activities necessary to carry out these convictions in practice. The American ballot is a secret ballot. No administration is entitled to inquire into a man's vote or political or religious affiliations. The Board of Higher Education has presumed to set itself up as a court of constitutional authority. Its action, ostensibly to defend Americanism, is in actuality un-American.

But the attack on Communists, convenient as it may be for a pretext, opens the way for a drive against much wider objectives. The first is an attempt to destroy teachers' unions as the most active exponents of educational democracy and expansion. The second is to do away with schools as the center of progressive cultural activity, and to transform them into instruments of war policy. The third is to eliminate higher public education for the people. The purpose underlying these objectives is the destruction of free scientific inquiry, the scrapping of culture. For, as we have said so many times, monopoly capitalism in its period of decline finds itself irreconcilably opposed to the search for truth. It cannot endure the test of reason. It is certainly unwilling to spend money for the continuance of an educational plant which, even with a minimum of democracy, is a constant threat to its pretensions. A ruling class bent on fascizing our economy is also, consistently and inevitably, bent on fascizing our educational institutions and our political life.

The fight to defend Schappes, the fight to defend New York's schools, the fight to protect teach union organizations, is not a local affair. It is a national fight. It is a fight to defend everything that we hold dear in American life. It is a fight against fascism. Anyone who deeply loathes fascism must be a traitor to his own humanity if he fails to resist the attack on our schools with every resource at his command. Rapidly, more rapidly than any of us can realize, our nation is being betrayed by the forces behind the Rapp-Coudert group. Now is the time to defeat this betrayal with every ounce of courage, understanding, and determination at our command.

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Balkan Week

THE prolonged and acute Balkan crisis has been partially resolved by the conclusion of a pact between Yugoslavia and Germany, an agreement that was foreshadowed by the military and political relationship of forces when Bulgaria, almost a full month ago, adhered to the tripartite alliance. From Germany's point of view, the occupation of Bulgaria had not sufficed to settle the Greek-Italian war; communications through Bulgaria are not ample or secure enough to permit the concentration of all the man-power and *materiel* which Hitler needs for a decisive struggle in the Near East. By forcing Yugoslavia's cooperation, even on a modified basis, Germany expects to gain full control of its extensive resources, its grain, copper, and aluminum. Second, the Nazis expect the use of the spacious Morava and Vardar river valleys that lead directly to the key Greek town of Salonica. Greece is thereby placed in a critical position, and Turkey is faced by some fundamental decisions almost at once.

The delay of almost a month has probably been exploited by the British to the utmost. We do not know precisely how many men or how much material has been brought up in southern Greece, but if it is at all substantial that would mean that the British are definitely committed to a showdown with Germany on Greek soil. There is always a possibility that a diplomatic crisis will develop in Greece, which might enable the Nazis to gain their point without fighting. But that now seems less likely than it did a month ago. In the long run, whatever stand the British make acquires the character of a delaying action. It is significant only in so far as it means that Turkey will probably participate in the war on Britain's side.

In the American press, the governmental crisis in Yugoslavia was interpreted as an indication of British influence. The demonstrations in the Serb and Montenegran provinces against the signature of the agreement with Germany were hailed as proof of sympathy for Britain. Yet, that seems to miss the main point. The fact is that Serbia decided not to fight on Britain's side, a significant difference between this war and the last. The widespread actions of the Yugoslav people are another sign that *anti-Nazi sentiment in Europe, and especially in eastern Europe, is not necessarily pro-British.* The protest against involvement in the war on Germany's side was only one aspect of the general opposition of the Serb, Montenegran, and Croatian peoples against the utterly dictatorial policies of their ruling class, against the economic privations which Belgrade's policies have visited on the people in the past year or more. This is a factor with which the British can hardly afford to gamble, for it is dynamite. And it is this same factor which impelled Hitler to negotiate with the Yugoslav politicians in secrecy and with extreme caution. This is the "eight-ball" in the Balkans, as everywhere else in capitalist Europe.

AND THEN comes the news that the Soviet Union and Turkey have exchanged views putting at rest malicious rumors that the USSR would take advantage of Turkey should she be obliged to defend her independence. "If Turkey be attacked and be obliged to enter the war for the purpose of defending her territory she can rely on the complete neutrality and understanding of the Soviet Union," says the exchange of notes, and there is a reciprocal statement from the Turkish government in case of an attack upon the USSR.

What this means, of course, is that irrespective of what happens in Greece the next phase of the war already centers on Turkey. From the point of view of Soviet policy, everyone can see, beyond the possibility of all misinterpretation, that the USSR is pursuing a completely independent course. And this independence is not just an abstraction, but is capable of concrete diplomatic application. The divergence of interest between the USSR and Germany, to which we referred in a recent editorial, is underlined. The USSR is obviously opposed to the extension of the war into the Balkans, and especially in the Near East; Germany, driven by the compulsions of a rapacious imperialism, finds no way of pursuing her aims except by pressing forward into the Near East. The USSR makes it clear that such is not her policy. On the other hand, what solace can Churchill or Roosevelt find in this latest development? There is no indication of Soviet assistance in the preservation of their ill-gotten empire, just as there is no indication of a breakdown in Soviet-German relations from which British or American imperialism might profit. The thesis that Soviet safety is somehow dependent on an alliance with Britain falls to the ground. The thesis that Soviet policy is negative and wholly defensive in this period is also refuted, for this latest declaration is obviously a product of Soviet initiative and strength. And the fact that a nation such as Turkey, which gained her independence by forcible struggle against Britain less than twenty years ago, turns to the USSR before deciding her future course will register on the minds and governments of every semi-colonial people clear around the globe. The "eight-ball," the *third factor* in this war, as represented by the USSR, remains the factor to watch.

Deeper into War

PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT'S war speech before the White House Correspondents Association has been the signal for new moves toward deeper military involvement abroad and greater abridgment of liberties and living standards at home. Convoys is the next item on the agenda of the war party; and already the chief lobby of the blood-and-tears crowd, Thomas W. Lamont's Committee to Defend America by Aiding the Allies, has swung into action. The committee demands naval convoys for ships carrying war material to Britain, a government declaration that will defend Singapore and the Dutch East Indies if they are attacked by Japan, and revision of laws to permit the British to recruit in the United States.

It has become a well known axiom of American political life that what Lamont's committee talks about today, the government does tomorrow. As recently as last December 28 William Allen White, former chairman of the committee, insisted that neither he nor the committee favored convoys since this would be an act of war. Secretary of the Navy Knox, testifying January 31 on the lease-lend bill before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, also opposed convoys, on the same ground. In the debate on the bill Senator George, chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee, was equally emphatic in rejecting the idea of convoys. Now that HR 1776 is law, the ballyhoo has begun—one more chapter in the epic of falsehood and deception. After convoys, what? The March 21 issue of the *United States News* gives us a glimpse of the future: "President Roosevelt is copying the technique that Hitler and Mussolini developed in Spain when they actually sank British ships and sent troops to fight while still maintaining 'neutrality.'"

On the home front the unfolding of the administration's program has manifested itself during the past week in the establishment of the Labor Mediation Board and the issuance of baby bonds and thrift stamps to finance the war effort. These investments, ranging from 10 cents to $10,000, are one aspect of the assault on living standards. Last year the tax legislation passed shifted a greater portion of the burden from the rich to the poor, and more of the same is promised for this year. The new bonds and stamps are a concealed form of taxation. True, their purchase is voluntary—as yet—and they are being alluringly presented as savings which will be returned with interest in ten to twelve years. But the Liberty Loan and thrift-stamp drives of the first World War demonstrated how effectively the equivalent of coercion can be achieved in a war atmosphere.

These bonds have an additional purpose of far-reaching significance: reduction of purchasing power in the hands of the people so that funds which would ordinarily be spent for consumers' goods will be funneled into war production. This dovetails with the priorities decrees of the OPM which are likewise shifting output from civilian goods to

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war materials. And this shift robs the people again by forcing up the prices of necessities. Thus in an irrational, destructive society the means of death devour the means of life.

The Other Tactic

COL. CHARLES A. LINDBERGH's article in *Collier's* (March 29) tells a few blunt truths about the proponents of all-out war on the side of Britain. The article gives a complete and more cogent presentation of the position of the big business non-interventionists than any that has yet appeared. It naturally conceals many truths concerning Lindbergh's own friends and the policy they advocate. Lindbergh makes clear that the question of participation or non-participation in the imperialist war is for him not one of principle but of expediency. Nowhere does he express any attachment to the ideal of peace. He emphasizes that France, England, and the United States "waited until it was too late." Had they struck before Hitler built up his might, Lindbergh implies, he and his friends would have approved. Having failed to break Germany by force while the opportunity existed, the only realistic alternative, according to Lindbergh, was continuation of appeasement. He avoids that nasty word, but his criticism of Britain and France on the ground that they "refused to take part in a European readjustment while there was still time to make it peacefully" is a euphemistic way of saying the same thing.

Lindbergh's article is written in a spirit of cold calculation of imperialist objectives and military possibilities. And he is as vague about the former as he is specific concerning the latter. He pours scorn on what he regards as the wishful thinking of the all-outers. He disbelieves in the possibility of a British victory even with full American aid and therefore opposes all policy predicated on that assumption. He implies that the only alternative is a policy based on his own premise of the inevitability of a German victory.

It is quite clear that Lindbergh is not an advocate of peace but of one imperialist tactic as against another. It is an oversimplification to call him a Nazi. His allegiance is not to German, but to American imperialism. He belongs with the "hemisphere imperialists," the leaders of the America First Committee and William Randolph Hearst (whom Lindbergh praised in a letter published in the New York *Journal and American* of March 21). This group believes that the United States should concentrate on complete subjugation and exploitation of Latin America, building up its armaments for the day when it can change from a policy of sharing the capitalist world with Germany to one of challenging Germany for mastery.

The same tactical differences appear in Lindbergh's attitude toward democracy and socialism, though he takes care not to discuss this question in *Collier's*. In November 1939 he published an article in the *Reader's Digest*, in which he said:

(Continued on page 20)

Humanity or Politics?

THE President's decision to send two freighters full of flour, some 13,500 tons, for the relief of unoccupied France is a significant development in American foreign policy. The United States has been shipping some foodstuffs to Spain, or at least helping finance such shipment by way of an indirect loan to Argentina. And for some time, the American Red Cross has been sending milk and clothing to France. But with this measure, we have the unfolding of a policy whereby food becomes a direct diplomatic instrument. The distinction between humanitarian and political motivations disappears, just as in this war the distinction between civilian and military fronts has disappeared. Food, quite like guns and airplanes, becomes an acknowledged weapon of war.

For obviously, no one with any sophistication can argue that this is simply another act of Christian charity by the United States. Everyone knows that it came in response to a threat from Admiral Jean Darlan that unless food were forthcoming immediately, France was faced with social upheaval. The very form in which the warning was made, namely that the French Navy would run the British blockade, was simply another way of threatening a much closer collaboration between Vichy and the German government than has developed until now. Mr. Roosevelt is obviously trying to avert such closer cooperation and, if possible, win France away from her armistice with Germany altogether. Newspapers reporting the President's decision to send food speak of an imminent French acknowledgment of his gesture in the form of an exodus of French ships from their mainland bases to north Africa. Whether this is another form of "appeasement," or whether the food does ultimately assist Hitler, strikes us as relatively unimportant. The main point is that those people who have been accustomed to think of American foreign policy in idealistic terms, who lent themselves to the Finnish-aid campaign, or the aid-to-Britain drive, can now see for themselves the hard core of strategic calculation that motivates the President and his advisers.

There are other equally interesting deductions to be made. For one thing, observe the decisive role of the White House on British policy. For months, the British have insisted that relaxing the blockade of France was out of the question. Evidently, it was on the President's advice that they have now changed their tune. Secondly, it is significant that this transaction is being handled by the American Red Cross. The flour is being paid for, not by any part of French funds now "frozen" in American banks, but from a $40,000,000 appropriation which Congress gave the Red Cross some months ago. Thus, the character of the Red Cross as a semi-official agency of the State Department becomes clearer: another indication of the pervasive influence of the war program on every organization, supposedly impartial, in American life. The wholly governmental character of this move, and therefore its specific diplomatic purpose, is underlined by the fact that Herbert Hoover's committee was ignored. Hoover, it will be remembered, has been asking the British permission to arrange for food distributions in Europe for many months, on the grounds that otherwise a situation will develop which Hitler may not be able to control, and Churchill will ultimately regret.

Unquestionably, there are honest folk who will grant the point we have made, and yet are deeply disturbed by the fact that unless the people of Europe get food somewhere before next winter, hundreds of thousands of people may die. These folk will also grant that there are millions of people in this country living only slightly above starvation levels, some 52,000,000 in John L. Lewis' opinion. Herbert Hoover may have ulterior motives, arising from his position as an ultra-class conscious representative of American imperialism, with a vivid recollection of how food was used to smash the Hungarian Soviet Republic in 1919. And yet our friends feel strongly that the prolonged ordeal of this war will literally warp the minds and bodies of a whole generation of innocent people. With such people we agree, and share their fears. To them, it is hardly enough to insist, although the point is fundamental, that the issue of food is a most horrible aspect of the collapse of communications brought about by the crisis of capitalism, only one indication of how utterly pernicious and murderous capitalism as a system has become. Like as not, many people will agree to that, too. But the situation calls for the organization of an impartial relief organization, based on the American trade-union movement. The working class of this country has the opportnity and obligation to come forward with proposals for the relief of the people of Europe. It must be relief with no string attached, relief with no ulterior motivations. Such an initiative would find a real echo among American farmers and progressives generally. It would go far to demonstrate the capacity for international solidarity which lies in the common people of all lands.

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And while we stand poised for battle, Oriental guns are turning westward, Asia presses towards us on the Russian border, all foreign races stir restlessly. . . . Our civilization depends on a united strength among ourselves . . . on a western wall of race and arms which can hold back either a Ghengis Khan, or the infiltration of inferior blood; on an English fleet, a German airforce, a French army, an American nation, standing together as guardians of our common heritage, sharing strength, dividing influence.

There is nothing isolationist about this view. While the Roosevelt-Willkie camp believes that the military chastisement of German imperialism is necessary for any effective collaboration against the Soviet Union and the democratic forces of all countries, Lindbergh holds that this objective, on the contrary, requires the preservation of the military *might of Germany. Thus the calculations of* both are dominated by the fear that the situation will get beyond their control, that the people on both sides of the war may discover that neither an Anglo-American nor a German victory is inevitable, and act accordingly.

Freezing Labor

ON THE cover of the *United Mine Workers Journal* for March 15 is the statement: "If the Congress and William Knudsen are really concerned about reducing the number of strikes they should devote themselves to an examination of the *cause* of strikes. Strikes are only symptoms of a cause."

Once it is understood that strikes do not occur, unless provoked, the effectiveness of windy newspaper editorials is ended—and with these, the ability to scare with talk of "plots" and "sabotage" and "the menace to American institutions." For behind the strikes *that have broken out all over the country is* always the same cause—management's attempt to speed up production and to keep wages stationary, the resolve to reduce pay despite rising living costs. The report of the Temporary National Economic Committee just released states: "Business has managed to maintain most of its control of industrial relations. . . . Business refuses to work, except on terms which it dictates."

Those terms are made to one purpose—higher profits. Business is getting them now. *A few typical examples tell the story:* The percentage rise in profits in 1940 over 1939 (a record year) as reported by the CIO *Economic Outlook* shows that General Electric's take rose 36.5 percent; Bethlehem Steel, 97.5 percent; International Harvester, 191 percent; *Douglas Aircraft, 275 percent;* United States Steel, 148 percent; Vultee Aircraft; 1,370 percent; Westinghouse Air Brake, 102 percent. Estimated profits for 1941 are far higher. But these are the companies having "labor troubles." In each case, the corporations attempt through speedup, longer hours, innumerable other abuses, to reduce the rate of wages.

"Strikes are only a symptom of a cause." Yet clearly the Roosevelt administration has no interest in causes. For big business has demanded an end to unions that challenge its dictatorship. The government so orders. The President's executive decree setting up a National Defense Mediation Board is a move to end strikes—and without the strike weapon, organized labor is helpless. In 1918 the government fashioned the War Labor Board—and the record of that body is one of continuous attack on organized labor and the fostering of company unions. Roosevelt's board is even more threatening than that of President Wilson. The four representatives *of the employers boast open strikebreaking* records—all have been active in launching violent and costly offensives against unions attempting to organize the plants of the corporations they head. The exploits of three of them, Messrs. Teagle, Lapham and Ching, *may be found in the La Follette committee* reports. The spokesmen for the "public" are committed to the anti-labor formula of compulsory arbitration. In the President's order setting up the board, there is the ominous insistence on a "cooling-off period" before strikes will be permitted. And with the imminent danger that the President will declare an "emergency" within the next few weeks—as Adam Lapin warns on another page of this issue—the Mediation Board can, if given its head, doom labor to impotence. The argument presented in its favor is that the emergency is great, and the defeat of fascism (through a war of conquest) necessitates all "sacrifice." Big business endures its sacrifice in the form of unsurpassed profits. From labor, the requirement is merely complete capitulation to the employers. Fascism, it seems, is to be destroyed by making the United States safely fascist. They did it in France.

Is this exaggeration? Discount, for a moment, the warnings of progressive labor leaders, of liberal legislators, of all who hold that the integrity of the labor movement is the very premise of democracy. Turn instead to Mr. Walter Lippmann. Discussing the new board in the New York *Herald Tribune* of March 22, he writes:

> When it is known that a failure to reach voluntary agreements would lead quickly to legal compulsion, the inducement to reach voluntary agreements is very much increased. . . . For while the right to strike . . . the right to refuse conciliation is not outlawed, the practical situation is that these rights will be suspended by law if they are in fact exercised.

American labor is under the most severe and menacing frontal attack, not only by the employers but by the administration itself. To retreat now would be the end of the union movement. Labor has many precedents from which to learn. In every instance, fascism has prevailed only after the organizations of the working class have been crushed and finally obliterated.

The Lights Go Out

In the shadows that are deepening over Europe the lights of learning are fading one by one. The conception of knowledge as an international responsibility has vanished. The free flow of ideas across boundary lines between laboratories and universities has dried up. Everywhere the exigencies of war have erased the possibility of intellectual and cultural life as that term was understood a few years ago.

THAT might be a quotation from a NEW MASSES editorial, but it isn't. It is from the report of the Rockefeller Foundation, issued by its president, Raymond B. Fosdick, on the Foundation's efforts to aid the natural and social sciences and the humanities abroad. The report paints a shocking picture of cultural decline and repression in a war which on both sides is being represented as a crusade in defense of culture. Nor is it only in countries at war that dissident professors are persecuted or the attempt made to infect scholarship with the bias of reaction, as our own Rapp-Coudert committee and the National Association of Manufacturers respectively remind us.

It is rather startling to find the Rockefeller Foundation directing its strictures not only at capitalist Europe, but at the one country in the world where these conditions do not prevail, the Soviet Union. The Foundation's feeble attempt to make out a case against the status of the universities in Soviet Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia flies in the face of fact. Since these three countries joined the USSR last summer educational and scientific activity has greatly expanded and all anti-Semitic restrictions against students and teachers have been removed. The contrast between the tragic cultural situation in the capitalist world and the cultural renascence in the Soviet Union was underscored only the other day by the Soviet government's awards for scientists, writers, musicians, and artists. The awards for literature and art alone totaled 7,000,000 rubles, and this is, of course, only a small fraction of the huge sums spent each year for education and the furtherance of every branch of culture. Here is one country where the lights, far from going out, burn more brightly every day, where the well-springs of human creativeness are being constantly tapped, where millions are participating in that enlargement of knowledge which is the essence of freedom.

Faster than the V8

HENRY FORD is eating those arrogant words of his—that he would never deal with a union. The serfs in his vast River Rouge plant are challenging the billionaire's despotism. CIO buttons on their cap, they hold their heads high these days as department after department wins, through stoppages, reinstatement of men who had been blacklisted for union activity. For history is moving faster than the V8. It was only a few days ago, March 13, when the men ceased work in the rolling mill. They won their demand that fifteen workers be returned to their former

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jobs. Three thousand men were engaged in the action. Four days later 7,000 in the axle mill stopped for an hour and again they won. On March 19, they halted production in the B building, greatest of all—and on that day, Ford, through his turncoat "conciliator," Homer Martin, agreed to allow 1,200 discharged men to return to work.

The workers, now in motion, realize that they must keep the offensive to win. And they are doing just that. Department after department sends committees to the management, demanding that the belt be slowed down, that a seniority system be established, that wage raises be granted. The CIO now has organization in each of the 325 departments and the union membership is estimated at 40,000, out of 90,000 employed. More than 50,000, which includes non-union workers, participated in the stoppages. The UAW strategy evidently is to establish union conditions and 100 percent organization while awaiting negotiations for a union contract—and the promised NLRB elections. They expect to win the latter by a great majority.

The picture, however, is not complete without mention of William Green's treachery. After years of inaction he suddenly springs to life, shipping organizers to River Rouge. This burst of activity is more than suspicious: it is obvious collusion with the company. Harry Bennett, who couldn't turn the tide with his plug-uglies, now hopes Bill Green will do the trick. The workers, to date, have overcome the Bennett blackjack: it is highly doubtful that they will succumb to Green's obvious wiles.

William Green's Shame

As we go to press, the great parent plant of the Bethlehem Steel Corp. is closed as the CIO Steel Workers Organizing Committee strikes against company-union elections. Not long past, the National Labor Relations Board named the Employees Representation Plan at Bethlehem as company-dominated and ordered it disbanded. Instead, the corporation has revived the ERP to hamstring the SWOC.

The strikers join the solid walkout of steel workers at the Detroit Midland plant. And with each strike wherein employees attempt to preserve organization and wage levels, the attack against the union movement grows commensurately more savage. It is understandable that the great employers will fight with every possible means workers' demands. It is not unexpected that an administration intent on war and blocked by a union movement opposed to war will join big business in the offensive. But what is horrifying beyond description is the action taken by top AFL officials in Chicago (against the wishes of the rank and file) to organize scabs and thugs to break the CIO strike at the International Harvester Co. In 1937, William Green threatened such action during the General Motors sitdown—but it remained a threat. His executive council czars have for years blessed company unions to forestall CIO efforts to spread the benefits of honest, militant unionism. But never has the racketeer handful of AFL executives actually herded finks into a closed plant to break a major strike. This new shame is the final degradation. In New Masses, March 11, an article described the Chicago Formula, defined as "company *plus* company-dominated unions *plus* AFL officials *plus* police 'labor' details, all of which *equals* AFL company-dominated union *minus* CIO union." Now it is being put into action. The police and the AFL officials are deliberately provoking violence that may surpass the tragedy of the Memorial Day Massacre of 1937. For members of the Farm Equipment Workers Union will not stand by while their strike is broken and their organization is smashed by thugs. The AFL executive council has undertaken the ugly responsibility of organizing terror and murder against the working class.

Rolling Home

Nine times since 1885 New York transport workers have resorted to the picketline. Not once did they win their strike as they did, hands-down, in the recent twelve-day contest with the wealthy New York Omnibus Corp., and the Fifth Avenue Bus Co. The strike, for this reason, had far more than local significance. As Mike Quill put it: "All labor in America hails this latest victory of our organization as a stop-signal to employers who are about to lead the fight for the cutting of wages throughout the nation."

The elements in the victory were these: the strikers kept solid ranks with exemplary discipline. They saw through Mr. Dies and the furious editorials of the metropolitan press. It is genuine tribute to their leadership that the issues were so clearly explained and so rapidly understood. The families of the men participated and many a baby-coach was wheeled before the garages. The Women's Auxiliary must share the glory of the victory. The men and their wives immediately sensed the treachery in the employers' slogan of "arbitration"—the word that the press and the mayor made so much of. They knew that arbitration would be fatal to their interests if it were not bolstered by strike action. They refused to discuss wage reductions and general deterioration of conditions. They carried on until the companies withdrew their proposed wage cuts and reduction in personnel. Only then did bus-men agree to arbitrate—on their own terms. They returned to work only on the basis of discussing improvements in their lot—raises up to $750,000 on one line, $250,000 on the other.

Stanley De Graff

This was a great achievement and congratulations are due the men, their brave families, and the union leaders. The lessons are clear all over America. Industrial unionism, labor unity, discipline, progressive leadership—these are basic to the successful actions of labor today.

Sabotaging Civil Rights

America's rulers will be building prisons faster than arsenals if the present pace of jailing anti-war fighters keeps up. The largest mass imprisonment since the last world war has taken place in Pittsburgh, with twenty-eight men and women given jail sentences and exorbitant fines for having solicited signatures to the Communist Party ballot petition last fall. A new technique in persecution, so unwarranted that it provoked a hunger-strike protest from the prisoners, was utilized in this case. Bail was demanded in the form of "compliance bonds," i.e., the equivalent of the fines and costs imposed in the sentence. With fines totaling $8,800 and costs running to tens of thousands, the prisoners would be forced to remain in jail pending their appeal to a higher court. All but eight of them, who were too weak physically, participated in the hunger strike lasting forty-eight hours. As we go to press, word comes that seven of the strike leaders have been cast into the workhouse in reprisal—reprisal for trying to protect their constitutional guarantees against excessive bail and fines!

Prison is also becoming the administration's solution for "what to do about aliens." Attorney General Jackson wants a "realistic" policy. It's hard to deport aliens, he points out, since the war has created new transportation and passport problems. So the "criminal" aliens had better be confined in jail while those deportable on technical grounds will be paroled. To distinguish between the two types of aliens, a government board of "dignity and standing" will examine all cases. All of which sounds very fair, very reasonable. The only trouble is that no government board has ever been too dignified to brand political dissent as criminal, if it suited their purposes. And Jackson has already given the tipoff in his statement, which speaks of Communists and criminals in the same reference. In addition, he virtually requested the House Judiciary Committee to draw up measures defining Communism as overthrow of government by force and violence—a deportable offense under the law. Four days later Mr. Jackson requested Congress to attack the Bill of Rights in another place. He would like permission to use wire-tapping evidence against "spies, kidnappers, extortionists, and saboteurs." The last category, of course, is the most significant, since in these days "sabotage" may be defined to include a one-hour strike in a "defense" plant. Aside from this, however, the American people have over and over expressed their obhorrence of wire-tapping as an intolerable violation of individual privacy. That one of Roosevelt's Department chiefs—echoing the President himself—dares call for it openly is just one more ominous sign of the times.

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Readers' Forum

Free Earl Browder

TO NEW MASSES: I have believed in democracy all my life. I have always believed that a man had a perfect right to hold and utter any opinions he pleased. And I should be very sorry if a fascist were imprisoned simply for his opinions.

So I am very indignant and utterly disgusted that Earl Browder is to be sent to prison simply because he is a Communist and holds Communist opinions. For no sensible man will ever believe that he is sentenced for four years because he made an ambiguous statement in his application for a passport. Even if he had deliberately told a downright lie a few days' imprisonment or a small fine would have been enough. For what he did was common enough and had been done before without causing any fuss.

No, he is to be put in prison for his opinions. And we all are in danger, for one never knows whether his opinions may at some time or other be displeasing to those in power. And it is clean contrary to democratic principles that a man be imprisoned for opinion. So the sooner all who believe in democracy set about agitating for his release the better.

Pensacola, Fla. REV. EDWARD G. MAXTED.

TO NEW MASSES: I have your recent communication regarding Mr. Earl Browder's conviction and confinement on a charge of irregularity regarding passports. You ask me to express my view. I gladly do so, for what it is worth.

From where I stand the imprisonment of Mr. Browder looks like a clear case of political persecution. This is the *argumentum ad crucem,* and betrays a dangerous weakness and self-distrust on the part of certain very powerful elements in the government.

New York City. KENNETH LESLIE.
Editor, "Protestant Digest."

TO NEW MASSES: To many persons highly placed in this country, the Roosevelt administration's prosecution of Earl Browder, which resulted in the Communist Party secretary's conviction and sentence to four years in prison on a passport technicality, may come as a welcome relief.

These individuals would have us believe that in keeping Mr. Browder out of circulation the principles for which this great American and his party stand may more easily be kept out of circulation too. They are horribly wrong. And curiously enough I believe that they understand very well that they are wrong, but are unable to do anything by way of helping themselves, so mired are they in the contradictions of the society in which we in America live.

The principles for which Mr. Browder and his party—a perfectly legal party—stand are American to the core. They are the principles which have been nourished by the struggles of the American people for freedom, peace, and security since the founding of this country.

Frederick Douglass fought for those principles; so did Nat Turner, Denmark Vesey, Harriet Tubman, John Brown, Sojourner Truth, and many others. They are the principles for which the Negro people and all other oppressed groups in America fight today. These principles will live on forever, because you simply cannot put the people out of circulation.

The justice for all the people for which Mr. Browder and his party wage battle, will continue to be fought for while he is in jail. I have no doubt of that. The fight to get him out of jail is well under way even before he gets in. And so I salute Mr. Browder for his courage, and for his refusal to defile the great American tradition for a mess of gold.

As a Negro, member of an oppressed people in America, I am more convinced than ever that Mr. Browder and the common people of our land will win out in the end, no matter what the cost.

Washington, D. C. GEORGE MURPHY.
Administrative Secretary, National Negro Congress.

TO NEW MASSES: By the framed charges and the harshness of the sentences meted out to them shall ye know the true spokesmen of the people. The shadow boxers of "opposition" are permitted to carry on their futile and harmless exercises because tyrants thereby attain a reputation for tolerance.

It is not he who would hesitate to send his most intelligent and fearless critic, Earl Browder, the real champion of the never-to-be-forgotten man, to jail for four years on a framed charge, a picayune passport irregularity. Browder's own words are the best commentary on this piece of outrageous executive vengeance: "If I deserve four years," said he, "what should Franklin Roosevelt get for his false passport to the presidency?"

What is it Hitler says about lies? The bigger the lie the more likely it is to succeed. Well FDR's *Kampf* against the people of America is in full swing. But the eighty-five percent who want none of Roosevelt's war will have the last word and may that come soon. Wilson, the betrayer of democracy in the first world war, has a true disciple in Franklin Roosevelt in the second world war.

New York City. MAURICE BECKER.
Artist.

TO NEW MASSES: It is obvious to me that the real "crime" for which Earl Browder is being sent to prison is his fearless criticism of the present pro-war administration, and his leadership of the anti-war forces in this country.

If our government is preparing for a second time to save freedom and democracy, is it not rather contradictory to begin that crusade by incarcerating the spokesman of its political opponents? We still have a Constitution with a Bill of Rights that guarantees us opportunities for just such expression.

In the light of those guarantees the conviction of Browder is a breach of democracy.

RAPHAEL SOYER.
New York City. *Artist.*

Mexican Laborers

TO NEW MASSES: Some while ago the great Texas commonwealth decided to repatriate its unemployed Mexican laborers. The fruit pickers, miners, oil workers, and cattle hands who helped create the riches of the state were picked up by the thousands and shipped to the border. There they arrived in such miserable condition that the Mexican government was forced to establish health camps to build them up before finding work for them. The "good neighbor" policy had made another grand gesture. But at the same time Railroad Commissioner Jerry Sandler proposed a scheme for turning oil from nearby wells into the Rio Grande and setting it afire to keep out the enemy. "The oil when ablaze, would shoot flames hundreds of feet high." The commissioner would then lead the charge riding on an asbestos horse.

San Antonio is being turned into an armed camp because the great "liberal" mayor Maury Maverick would "rather have a Herbert Hoover for a President or a Henry Ford for dictator than Hitler ruling the land. America at its worst is better than any other place on earth." And while we down here have a hearty hatred for Nazis, domestic and foreign, Maverick should know about America at its worst. San Antonio is infamous for its filth, starvation, and disease. Neither before nor since the humanitarian took office has the city paid one red cent for relief. But a beautiful straight road shoots to the border into the heart of Mexico, and that makes up for everything.

Meanwhile, the Texas Social Welfare Association of Austin has gathered figures which indicate how much interest the heroes have in the citizens they propose to defend. Since 1936, the state has disclaimed all responsibility for relief. Responsibility is local. As a result, one needy family in twenty receives any direct aid whatsoever. Many live on a diet consisting of dried beans, butter, white flour, and grapefruit—$3.88 to last a month for a family of four, *less than one cent a meal per person.*

Texas communities grant an average of $8.06 a month to one-seventh of all families known to be in critical need; $9.69 for old age assistance; for dependent children, nothing; for the blind, as much.

In percentage of school attendance Texas ranks fourth from the bottom of the list of states. When Texas schools opened last September, 75,000 children were absent, their parents begging at welfare agencies for help so that they should not be deprived of elementary education. Fifty-two thousand children between ten and fifteen work for a living. A quarter million voters are illiterate. Such is the conception of democracy of Dies, Garner, Luther Johnson, Tom Connally, Morris Sheppard, Maverick, Jesse Jones, and Sam Rayburn, all war mongers.

According to the survey, Texas spends as much per head for health protection for its animals as for its people—slightly less than three and one-half cents per year—as much for a pig as for a human being. Result? During 1939, of the 65,519 deaths in Texas, one-third were due to preventable diseases; while 8,618 children died before reaching the age of one.

But what is that to the warriors in the state legislature? They are just now considering a bill to regard as justifiable homicide the killing by anyone of a "fifth columnist."

San Antonio, Texas. C. H.

Chet La More

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Two Views of China

Edgar Snow's new book controverts the wordy evasions of Mme. Chiang Kai-shek and gives a firsthand report on China. A review by Isidor Schneider.

THE BATTLE FOR ASIA, *by Edgar Snow. Random House. $3.75.*
CHINA SHALL RISE AGAIN, *by Mme. Chiang Kai-shek. Harper & Bros. $3.*

"THE Battle for Asia" is a book of many virtues. It is vivid reading. Without any pretentious to-do about passing on inside stuff, it provides much serviceable information, so presented as to compose a proportioned and realistic picture. No foreign correspondents' book I have read comes up to it in perception, in comprehensiveness, in sheer interest. It is a more important book, in its thoroughness and its range, than Snow's own *Red Star Over China.*

What does the book tell us?

About Japan—that its feudal aristocracy has turned the productive forces of its own and conquered lands into an economy for war; that this economy, evil and risky as it is, is stronger than the economic-exhaustion theorists have led us to believe; that it has, through a peculiar Japanese development, become a monopoly of the army whose leadership has succeeded in concentrating economic and political, as well as military, power in its hands; and that, as a consequence, Japanese imperialism, even more than others, is spinning in an accelerating spiral of military expansion aimed first at the conquest of Asia and then of the world.

About Japan's imperialist rivals—principally England and the United States, that they have shown incredible shortsightedness. It is with their help entirely that Japan has become formidable. Snow might have added that it was on the dangerous and insinuated hope that Japan was arming herself against the Soviet Union that England and the United States armed Japan, as it has proved, against themselves; and that, unable wholly to surrender an anti-Soviet hope, they continue to do so. Japan's military machine comes out of American and British mines and mills and is powered with their gasoline.

At one time, according to Snow, British imperialism was more culpable than American which, when it sought united action to restrain the Japanese, was crossed and double-crossed by the British. It is not improbable that the British Foreign Office thought of improving upon the proverbial bird killing by adding a third bird, America. In that way, by helping to keep Japan's end up against America as well as against the Soviet Union, Britain sought to keep all three snapping at each other while she cultivated her Chinese gardens in comparative peace.

About the European and American groups in Shanghai and other concession areas in China, Snow describes the blindness that descended upon them, making them incapable of acting in their own interest. They stumbled like parasites who have become so adapted to living on their hosts that some of their organs have atrophied. These groups had the amazing naivete to expect Japanese imperialism to honor their seniority rights and leave them undisturbed in their holds on the body of China. Before the Mikado's men slapped them awake they were full of praises and help for the Japanese, considering Chinese independence the far greater evil. Even Kuomintang was Communism to them.

MOST TIMELY of all, Snow tells us about the Chinese people, about their desperate need for a new system, socially, politically, culturally; about their unending nurturing, out of their torment, of new movements for national salvation and individual human rights: about the unsuppressible Communist Party that has led their struggle; and about the Chinese bourgeoisie into whose trembling money-passing hands history has placed the task of eliminating feudalism and foreign oppression.

This bourgeoisie, moreover, is itself an incompletely evolved class. It contains elements of the old—feudal landlords, mandarin bureaucrats, usurers and *tuchuns* (war lords) and their staffs. It has few representatives of a modern economic development. Therefore when control of Sun Yat-sen's revolutionary party, the Kuomintang, came into the hands of the bourgeoisie, this class brought into it its own heterogeneous character and counter-revolutionary interests. However as the anti-Japanese movement progressed, a democratic element again filtered into the Kuomintang, but this has not proved sufficient thus far to offset such dominant influences as that of Ying-chin, the pro-Japanese Minister of War. It can therefore be seen how essential to any united fight of the Chinese people is the Communist Party, which has been the initiating force and core of the anti-Japanese struggle and which has shown its unity and democratic character in every campaign it has fought and every administration it has organized. Open and practical recognition of this is a precondition for a successful continuance of the United Front.

The Chinese Revolution which overthrew the Manchu dynasty has had a singularly unlucky environment. As long as foreign imperialists kept hold of China's strategic ports and transportation centers it could not complete itself. These strongholds of imperialism formed and, to the extent that they survive, still form military, financial, and conspiratorial foci for the counter-revolution. China's political fate has shuttled between the growing force of the people and the developing interdependence of Chinese counter-revolution and the imperialist powers. This might have continued, had not Japan left the imperialists' cooperative (the so-called consortium of powers) that has been functioning in China, to try to get all for herself. Japan's aggression raised the popular indignation to an irresistible pitch and the Chinese bourgeoisie was finally compelled to make a fight and, to carry it on, to revert to its old alliance with the Communist Party.

What such an alliance (which, in effect, is a first step in freeing the Chinese people for full action) could accomplish, had been shown by Sun Yat-sen's campaign (directed, after Sun's death, by Chiang Kai-shek) for the unification of China against the *tuchuns,* or war lords. This historic and brilliant campaign fell short of complete success only because of the intervention of the foreign imperialists. Chiang was then faced with the choice of knuckling under to them and to the collusive Chinese landlords, comprador, and merchant class, or continuing the revolutionary movement in alliance with the Communists.

Chiang, himself of upper class origin and allied through marriage with a Chinese banking family, made a class-prompted decision. He chose to attempt to establish a dictatorship of the Chinese bourgeoisie, by way of the one party—a Kuomintang political monopoly; and he turned on his former comrades in arms in a treacherous massacre.

NEVERTHELESS, the people's movement continued. This was inevitable as long as the Kuomintang withheld from the people the national unity, economic betterment, and democratic rights for which they were in the field. Within the Kuomintang there were democratic ferments. And wherever the Communists reappeared and began organizing they were able to strike root. The Kuomintang wasted national resources in a criminal and futile series of "annihilation campaigns" against the Soviet districts. They considered this of greater importance than resistance to Japan. They continued in this course until on one of his Communist suppression campaigns Chiang was kidnapped by detachments of one of his own suppression armies. During his detention he consented to a policy of resistance against the Japanese.

The Kuomintang's peace with the Communists was ambiguous and hypocritical. While on their part the Communists consented to ad-

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minister their territory as "border districts" and to fight as divisional troops of Chungking, the Kuomintang refused official acknowledgement of the United Front, blockaded the Communist occupied districts, interfered with the communications and supply services of the Eighth Route and the Fourth Route Armies, precipitated clashes by attempts to occupy districts they had won back from the Japanese, and withheld ammunition, equipment, and pay, which it should have furnished.

In the very midst of the war against the Japanese, Chinese construction, military resources, and the energies of hundreds of thousands of men were used by the Kuomintang to build and garrison a ring of blockhouses around the Communist "border districts." Mr. Snow estimates that, in addition, more than a million able-bodied men who should be bearing arms against the Japanese are in the villages and towns guarding property and protecting the privileged—bearing arms, that is, against the people at home. So much does the Chinese bourgeoisie fear the people.

It became increasingly evident that the Kuomintang, which had entered the United Front unwillingly, would respect and fulfill its obligations only to the degree that it felt compelled to do so, and that it would continue to regard defense against democracy at home as more important than defense against Japan.

This was shown not only in its continuous dirty dealings against the Eighth Route and New Fourth Armies, but in its dirty dealings against the people. Szechuan, the Kuomintang's main base now for men and supplies, is in an economically pitiable situation. Land tenancy is almost universal. Usury keeps the masses in debt slavery. Profiteers hoard food and despite plenty, ask famine prices. And the rich send their money out of the country.

The last piece of data is both characteristic and important. The course of the war had pushed free China into the most backward districts. Industry essential for continuing resistance was lacking. Here was an opportunity for rich patriots to serve their country by investing in vitally needed industry. Instead, while peasants were risking their lives the profiteers refused to risk dollars. Money transmitting agencies can tell an ironical story. While Chinese workers abroad, sweated laundry men, farmhands, and stevedores were sending contributions from their wages to China, this money was crossing outbound millions dispatched to financial safety by the well-off, who would not even take profitable risks for their country. The story of Indusco, the system of small industrial cooperatives that seeks to fill this economic void, is wonderful, a monument to the devotion and industry of self-sacrificing and heroic workers and professionals, but tragic, too, for it is a monument at the same time to the dishonor of a class that deserts its country in its hour of need.

Snow gives many saddening pictures of this and similar swinishness. It has happened monotonously often before, for the bourgeoisie of every nation has a similar swinish history; yet one's gorge rises to read of China's gilded youth carousing within sound of the battlefields where the youth of the poor were barring the enemy with their bodies, having been equipped with little else to stop bombs and bayonets.

ONE CAN FIND a kind of official confirmation of the stiff-necked, reality-evading attitude of the Kuomintang in the compilation entitled *China Shall Rise Again,* edited by Mme. Chiang Kai-shek. The book opens with say-nothing platitudes by her husband, the generalissimo. These evade the issue of a democratic program. They shift the emphasis to faults in individual character which provide occasions for dulcet exhortation and excuses for doing nothing. It is, in effect, an Oriental version of Hoover's rugged individualism which puts all troubling issues on the spiritual shelf.

Mme. Chiang's main statement is an elaboration of this matter in very prissy language. The madame is so madamified that she cannot use the plain word "rape"; in her lingo the Japanese "molest" Chinese women. Speaking of the so-called "New Life" movement, which was started as a mild social-work substitute for the land and other reforms that Chiang's "bandit suppressors" had suppressed in Kiangsi Province, Mme. Chiang says it was started to heal "the ravages of war" (omitting, of course, that the ravages had been inflicted by Chiang's armies). The final chapter is an article by Madame Chiang in which, apparently stung by the pretenses of American and British aid to China and the reality of their aid to Japan, she admits that the only real aid China has received has come from the Soviet Union.

The rest of the book consists mainly of reports by Chungking department heads, some of whom are notorious fascists and not above suspicion of dealings with Japan's puppet Wang Ching-wei and with the Japanese themselves. None acknowledge existence of the United Front, or pay even chivalrous enemy tribute to the achievements of the Eighth Route and New Fourth Armies. On that issue they maintain the silence of hangmen. Unless one considers the value of reading between the lines there is little in these department reports worth reading with the exception of the report on Indusco which is written by the Australian, Rewi Alley, who had the biggest hand in getting and keeping the Indusco organization going.

When one compares such stuffed-robe pronouncements with the frank, lively, realistic, never-evasive interviews with the leaders of the Eighth Route and New Fourth Armies, reported by Snow, one knows where the real leadership in China's struggle is, no matter where historical circumstances locate the titular leadership.

It is a tribute to the Chinese people that they have achieved so much despite the accident of history which timed their rise out of feudalism at the moment when the imperialisms were digging in on China's back and that the class to whom power fell was such a weak,

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undeveloped, decayed-in-the-bud kind of a bourgeoisie.

The immense verve, spirit, and resourcefulness of the Chinese people, winning through, at great cost, against such obstacles comes out magnificently in Snow's book. It is there in the whole; and it glows in the detail.

It is a pity, therefore, to have to report that Snow permits himself some asides on matters far away from China that fall very far aside. To speak of one of them: Snow has some misinformed comments about American Communists that indicate a naivete, unbecoming a journalist, which takes at its dirty face value the anti-Communist press.

Among other things he criticizes the American Communists for running a Negro candidate for Vice-President. The Russians, he remarks, would not run one of their Eskimos for high office. The answer is that they would. It is as possible for an Eskimo to be among the Soviet leaders as for a Georgian, a Ukrainian, an Armenian, a Finn, or a Jew, to name a few of the representatives of formerly oppressed nationalities who are now in Soviet leadership. And the answer is also that the Negroes, with a 15,000,000 population and an identification with American life since the foundation of our country as an independent nation, are very different from the several thousand Eskimos who have only, in the last few years, been brought into functioning contact with Soviet life. I think a brief study of the situation in America will persuade Snow that the Communist course is sensible, just, and necessary.

It is unfortunate that even in this small and parenthetical fashion he should contribute to the current anti-Communist hue and cry of the reactionaries. To the extent that he adds anything to it, he adds a mite to the difficulties of the Chinese Communists as well. They have, to a great extent, escaped the smearing that other Communist groups have experienced; but they are coming in for it. Chungking propagandists and Japanese propagandists here will not fail to make use of it. When he reads the April issue of *Asia,* Snow will get a personal foretaste of it. For the editors felt it necessary to balance the clear, good article he wrote for them with a jet of Freda Utley's frothing-at-the-mouth entitled "Will Russia Betray China?" and dedicated to discrediting the Chinese Communists as inevitable co-betrayers.

ISIDOR SCHNEIDER.

Spiritualism

THE UNOBSTRUCTED UNIVERSE, *by Stewart Edward White. E. P. Dutton & Co. $2.50.*

MR. WHITE, known for more than a generation as a novelist of the great open spaces, shifts in this book from sentimental stories of the campfire to rather less likely tales of life after death and the fun that spirits have roaming the uncharted expanses of the cosmos, unhandicapped by the presence of the natural body. It is a wild and woolly book that makes the yarns told by cowboys to dude ranchers sound tame and factual in comparison.

Mr. White receives his reports of the beyond from the immortal soul of his dead wife, Betty, who communicates her impressions through a friendly medium. The resulting picture is a familiar one to those acquainted with spiritualist literature over the past twenty-five years or so. The basic philosophy of the spiritualists is simply a variation of metaphysical idealism and rests on the proposition that everything in the universe is in the last analysis composed of mind or consciousness. All the different forms of consciousness, from a lowly piece of mud to the body of a human being, assume their particular manifestations according to their differing rates of frequency vibration.

Says the dead Mrs. White to her rapt listeners: "The only reason you cannot exist and operate in the *entire* universe, as I do—for I operate in your universe as well as mine—is because you are not able to step up your frequency." In other words, when we shuffle off this mortal coil, so hampering to a free soul, we immediately start operating with an other-worldly body of such a speedy frequency that it can easily pass through all those gross forms of matter—such as wooden doors, concrete walls, and plate-glass windows—that sometimes get in our way. Thus at death we become the fortunate inhabitants of an altogether "unobstructed universe."

It is not difficult for a medium to give expression to a quite generalized world view that combines philosophical idealism with some of the patter of modern physics. But when the details of the after-existence are asked for, then real trouble begins and the less said the better. On these concrete details Mrs. White is pretty vague, and coyly passes off embarrassing questions by remarking, "Now you're trying to get me to be Oliver-Lodgish again!"

As spiritualist books go, *The Unobstructed Universe* is undoubtedly one of the better ones. But its main importance lies in the fact that it appeared at this catastrophic juncture in human affairs when so many people in every country are looking for an easy escape from intolerable actuality and when the death tolls from war make the promise of a beautiful immortality especially relevant. The publishers evidently understand the situation, since the book has received almost unprecedented promotion for one of its kind, including full-page advertisements in the book review sections of the Sunday *Times* and *Tribune.*

Just as during the last war there was a noticeable recrudescence of spiritualism and other species of religion, so we must expect a similar phenomenon during the present conflict. But this time, due to the influence of Marxism in general and of socialist humanism in the Soviet Union, I believe that the drift to compensatory supernaturalism is going to be both more limited and more temporary than before.

CORLISS LAMONT.

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Fascist Dissidents

THE REDEMPTION OF DEMOCRACY, *by Hermann Rauschning. Alliance Book Corp. $3.*

HITLER AND I, *by Otto Strasser. Houghton Mifflin & Co. $2.50.*

A VERY large part of Herr Rauschning's book is taken up with a repetition of the essential ideas in his previous *The Revolution of Nihilism,* but they are watered down and spread thin. The promise of the title is simply not kept. "We shall have to learn and accept a little of everything," is the nearest he gets to a positive program. In this respect, the book is an admission of defeat, of emptiness, of Rauschning's own nihilism. And there is a good reason for it. Like Hitler, whom he once followed as Nazi president of the Danzig Senate, Rauschning hates and despises the masses, "the fluctuating, unstable, rootless masses," and he piles on them all the blame for the present crisis. On this basis, the French Revolution is just as alien to him, as he finds the Russian Revolution. The result is complete pessimism. The British edition is called *The Beast from the Abyss* and it is much closer to Rauschning's state of mind. The American publisher apparently used the title of one chapter as the title for the book, but there is nothing in the chapter or in any other part of the book to fulfill it. All we learn is that "we must hope that every useful part of the socialist, corporative or liberal adjuncts will be included in a basically individualistic and liberal structure." But Rauschning confesses that he does not know how much of each is desirable or possible and falls back a "little of everything." He gives the unfortable impression of a blind man mumng to himself among the ruins of his own house.

Strasser's book is another in the long list of volumes on Hitler and Hitlerism which make a mystery of both. Gregor Strasser, Otto's far abler brother, was one of Hitler's first followers and the leader of the so-called left wing of the Nazi movement who died in the purge of 1934. The chances are that Otto would never have been noticed without this family connection. He joined the Nazi party in 1925 and stayed for five years. In 1930 he formed the "Black Front" as a sort of internal opposition. From his book one would gather that his chief grievance was Hitler's, rather than his own, preeminence in the party. At the first meeting with Hitler in 1920, Otto Strasser took a violent dislike to him and made him furious by disagreeing with him on everything they happened to talk about. From his account of subsequent conversations, they never seem to have had the slightest thing in common. This extraordinary consistency of behavior toward Hitler by a man who was in and around the Nazi movement for so long should make the whole book suspect. The true things in it are well-known and the little intimacies are at best doubtful and unreliable.

THEODORE DRAPER.

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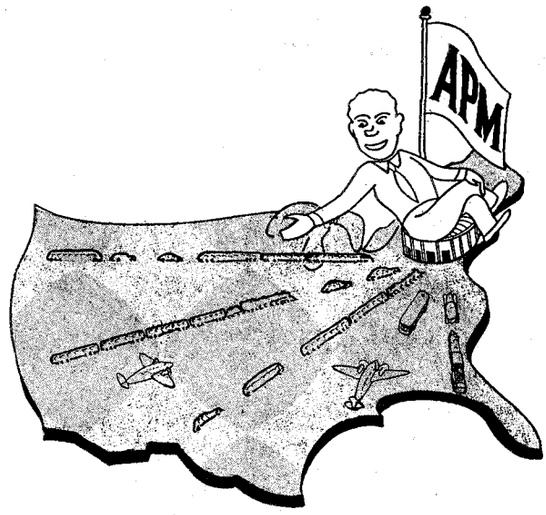

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Anna Sokolow's Recital

Her recent solo compositions enriched the dance's repertoire. Some shortcomings. Alex North's music gains strength from folk sources . . . Alvah Bessie reviews Shaw.

A GREAT solo was added to the repertoire of the modern dance when Anna Sokolow presented the premiere of "Lament for the Death of a Bull Fighter" at her recent recital. This work, together with "Slaughter of the Innocents," must rank as among the most moving and dramatic solo dances to be seen on a concert stage.

As a matter of fact, Anna Sokolow's solo compositions that evening won singular honors. The little dances to Revueltas' "Songs for Children" were charming and sensitive; "Exile" and "Slaughter of the Innocents" were invested with deep poignancy, and the "Lament," dedicated to Garcia Lorca, will undoubtedly become one of the most profoundly moving works in her repertoire.

If, in the group work of the evening, this high creative level was not maintained, one must criticize not the artistry of the dancer, but rather the material on which it was expended.

A program by Anna Sokolow and her group can be a highly stimulating and provocative experience in the theater. This artist's dynamic choreography produced such memorable works as "Strange American Funeral" and "War Is Beautiful"—works which were significant not only in their unique technical achievement, but in their thematic approach as well. In both cases the theme coincided with the dancer's social vision, and that vision shaped and plotted the dance. Her most recent performance, however, marked an excursion by Miss Sokolow into a new manner of working, and one which proved less productive.

The program, dedicated to the Mexican composer, Silvestre Revueltas, featured his music, all written before Miss Sokolow came on the scene. The dancer was forced, therefore, to yield to the limitations, both in form and content, set by the musician. In the modern dance, this can become a serious thematic limitation. It most certainly restricted the scope of Anna Sokolow's art, despite the excellence of the music, per se.

"Fable of the Wandering Frog" was a diverting piece of child's play, calling for colorful costumes and beautiful masks (by Sylvia Wald). In the suite, "Homage to Garcia Lorca," the group dances were charming and graceful—no more. To these slight skeletons, Miss Sokolow diligently applied herself, and the finished product proved on the slight side. "Vision Fantastica," based on drawings by Goya (music by Soler), may yet be reworked into a pointed comment on Goya's aristocrats and their times, rather than sheer picturization. But here again, the libretto needed what Stanislavsky calls "a spine."

Of all the young artists who received their start in the left wing dance movement, Anna Sokolow is certainly the most talented and promising. She is a brilliant manipulator of group design and she has proved she can successfully fuse content with rich choreographic invention. But she must rediscover those themes which inspired her repertoire three years ago.

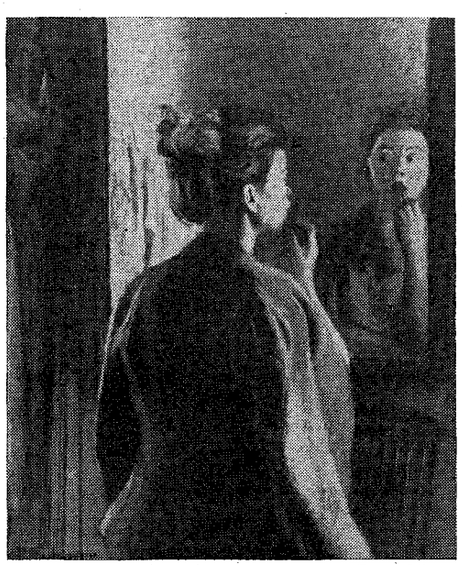
Praise must certainly be given to members of her group who performed brilliantly under an actual adversity. The orchestra, which supplied the accompaniment to many of the dances, sounded incapable of rendering any cohesion to the music, and therefore to the dancers themselves. Despite that, members of the group, Rebecca Rowan, Clara Nezin, and several others, gave outstanding performances.

FRANCIS STEUBEN.

I SHOULD LIKE to add a word about the musical aspects of Miss Sokolow's recital. As Francis Steuben has indicated, the dance program was dedicated to Silvestre Revueltas, the Mexican composer, whose death last year at the age of thirty-nine was a major loss to the music world. Revueltas occupied his great talents with functional music. He wrote profusely for the ballet, theater, and film. His score for the moving picture, *The Wave,* is still remembered as one of the best for this medium. Thoroughly trained and technically developed, Revueltas never moved into any academic towers, but was always close to the people and his music pulsates with the rich folk lore of Mexico. Two of his works heard on this program, "The Fable of the Wandering Frog," and "Homage to Garcia Lorca," breathed the affirmative and spirited feeling characteristic of so much of his music, while "The Songs for Little Children" were gentle, sympathetically wrought musical essays about children.

Sharing the program with Revueltas was the music of the gifted young American, Alex North. Like Revueltas, Mr. North derives musical strength from folk sources. But where it is mainly Spanish-Mexican in the former, it assumes international aspects in Mr. North. For instance, one of his works, "Ballad in Popular Style," was in the American jazz idiom, and utilized a counterpoint of a lazy, floating melody over a rapidly moving syncopated bass. There was the tender hovering quality in "Slaughter of the Innocents" which suggested the color of ancient Castille. The interesting orchestration of a solo guitar against a background of woodwinds effected a mood of distance and wistful melancholy. Best of all was the beautiful musical setting to Sol Funaroff's poem, "Exile." Here a haunting melody of a Hebrew-Palestinian character tensely communicated the torment and striving of the poem's subject matter. The cantor-like vocalisms were authentically and movingly sung by Arno Tanney.

LOU COOPER.



Raphael Soyer

"Girl at Mirror"

Conversation Piece

Shaw's "Doctor's Dilemma" has little action but much bite.

KATHARINE CORNELL'S revival of *The Doctor's Dilemma* (at the Shubert) serves to remind us that this is one of Shaw's least stage-worthy plays. It used to be considered flip to say that the Shaw plays made better reading than playing, but with the possible exceptions of *Heartbreak House, Candida,* and parts of *Methusaleh* and *Joan,* it is literally true. His ideas, startling in their time and properly so, are more completely expressed and deeply explored in his prefaces than they are compelling upon the lighted platform for which the plays were written.

Consider *The Doctor's Dilemma.* Shaw had many pertinent things to say about the medical profession of his time—and of the present, for that matter, if you can forgive him some of his whackier ideas on therapeutics. What he had to say was pointed, witty and caustic, if rarely profound. He said that, as presently constituted, the profession was largely hide-bound, clannish, ignorant, egotistical, senti-

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mental, even stupid. He said that the private practice of medicine should be abolished by law, and he made out an excellent case for socialized medicine. The American Medical Association still does not like this play. His barbs stick, for we all know physicians who generally resemble the Harley Street medicos of the *Dilemma,* stuffed shirts riding their medical hobby-horses as hard as old St. Bernard still rides his vegetarianism, doctors who are "too busy" to see their patients, ignoramuses who consider themselves scientists on scarcely scientific evidence.

Strictly as *play,* however, the *Dilemma* is a flop. With one exception (the role of Louis Dubedat, the artist) the characters are consistently cut out of cardboard; they have no dimensions in the flesh. With one exception (again, the death of Dubedat) the scenes of the drama evoke no emotion in the audience, and the stage is the platform for an interminable debate in which the characters, at the discretion of the director, rearrange themselves periodically in serviceable patterns, designed to break the monotony of their endless badinage. They do not engage your emotions; you are only concerned (from the eyes up) with the "points" they are going to score off their colleagues.

The "dilemma" itself is scarcely valid: shall Dr. Sir Colenso Ridgeon save the life of Louis Dubedat, the blackguard artist whose wife the doctor covets, or shall he save the life of his dull but useful colleague, Dr. Blenkinsop? As one character says, "Why not save them both?" The answer is mechanical —Sir Colenso can take only ten patients for his new tuberculosis cure, not eleven. Why not? But that is not Shaw's point. He was interested in satirizing the profession and he was interested in exposing the morality and the philosophy of the artist who is a "bad" man by all conventional standards of morality. Yet in dramatic terms, neither the "good" Dr. Blenkinsop, nor the "bad" Louis Dubedat (who is a genius)—is explored or understood to the satisfaction of the audience.

Mr. McClintic, husband of Miss Cornell, and her director, has pointed the play solely for its laughs, which, it is true, mitigates the long dull stretches of the play, but also swamps some of its keener intellectual conceptions. As Dubedat, Bramwell Fletcher is effective in his dying scene, when he states his artist's credo: "I believe in Michael Angelo, etc." As his wife, Jennifer (a minor part), Miss Cornell seems more at ease than she has in many of her previous roles. She has a genuine presence on the stage and much charm, she is effectively costumed, but she still gives a total impression of having "studied" her performance out of all semblance of human reality. I felt that Raymond Massey's Sir Colenso failed to vitalize the actor in the way his picture version of *Abe Lincoln* so conspicuously did.

Nevertheless it is good to see Shaw again, even in so indifferent a production of one of his less consequential plays. The ancient bard, who continues to lambaste British officialdom

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although he is himself as old as Methusaleh, possesses a vitality that might well be the despair of lesser men. Even at a distance of thirty-five years, the *Dilemma* still throws off sparks.

IT APPEARS that there really is a Lucille Prumbs and that she really wrote a play about William Saroyan. It was a terrible play, and if all we hear about Mr. Saroyan is anywhere near the truth of the acting job that Elia Kazan did with the character who represented Mr. Saroyan, then Mr. Saroyan must be pretty terrible. For certain it is that Mr. Kazan, who is one of our more excellent actors, has seen Mr. Saroyan plain, and who am I to dispute the truth of the way he acted the role?

Miss Prumbs could not have asked for a better production; a host of talented people cavorted about in her drama, that evoked memories not only of Saroyan himself (the sincerest form of flattery), but also of Clare Booth, Noel Coward, and many other less obvious influences. There were many funny moments. But the tragedy of it all—and you must agree that it is a horrible position to be in—is that we find ourselves on the same side of the fence with the man who occasionally signs himself "A Crazy Armenian." When told that there would be a play about him on Broadway, Mr. Saroyan bet a thousand dollars to a dime it wouldn't run fourteen days. He—(this breaks my heart)—he was *right*. It closed in four.

ALVAH BESSIE.

Huey Hooey

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IN NEXT WEEK'S NEW MASSES

What is happening in steel and coal?

Beginning a series of articles on the two great mass production industries.

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aire and a gang of private storm troopers. At this point the film rises above its beginnings; John Doe, in spite of his love-and-kisses demagogy, really becomes a symbol of the common man getting it in the neck, and all Capra's power and punch as a director go into portraying the brutality of his fascists.

But another contradiction is to come. John Doe decides to vindicate himself by a genuine suicide. He is dissuaded by the girl reporter, and marries her instead; but the attempted sacrifice touches the hearts of the fascists. They all repent. Pinfeathers start sprouting from their shoulder-blades. . . .

In the past Capra has refused to soft-pedal his slashing assaults on the little tin gods running the country. Here, however, he seems eager to be as inoffensive as possible. The millionaires keep the power and the poor stay poor and are more contented about it. And a really nasty touch in the film is a leering caricature of a labor leader, complete with eyebrows. As an approach to the genuine problems of working people, the film seems a deliberate attempt to obscure the issues; to conceal war, starvation, and homelessness in a tangle of spun sugar.

Gary Cooper looks utterly miserable as the apostle of sweetness and light. Edward Arnold, sinister and astonishingly quiet, makes the fascist millionaire a frightening figure, but Barbara Stanwyck's girl reporter is a soggy stain on the film. She does her emotional scenes as a series of impassioned squawks. All the picture needs to make it complete is to have F. D. Roosevelt lean from the clouds in the finale, a god from the Democratic machine, and make Capital and Labor kiss each other.

"RAGE IN HEAVEN" has passed through many hands since James Hilton let it fall with a dull thud. This reviewer had a crack at writing it, too, in her Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer days, and it is with great magnanimity that she admits the film is much better than she or James Hilton left it. Purged of its original drooling sentiment, *Rage in Heaven* is a swift and exciting study of yet one more psychopathic murderer.

That's not as trite as it sounds. The murderer is convincingly crazy, and gets his effects far more subtly than by actually carving anyone up. Robert Montgomery puts more horror into patting a kitten than you usually get from a closeup of three vampires having dinner. Among his symptoms, by the way, is his use of police against his workers during a brief strike. Indeed, the film makes the point that strikes can be caused by paranoiac employers, and that a boss who calls in the cops is Not Nice. How did that get by, Mr. Knudsen?

Montgomery, as the zombie-faced millionaire, is brilliantly assisted by Ingrid Bergman, the loveliest and most unaffected of Hollywood's younger actresses. George Sanders, without sneers, is competent as the film's nice guy, and Oscar Homolka really steals the show in a brief and clumsily written part.

JOY DAVIDMAN.

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